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WITH

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BY

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Abul Husain Ahmad b Muhammad an Nūri d 295 A H 15 n7, 22 26 n28

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Ibrāhim Khawwās see Abū Ishāk Ibrāhim b Ahmad al Khawwās

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al Kāzim, see Mūsā al Kāzim
al Kharrāz see Abū Sa id Ahmad b Isā al Kharrāz
al Khawwās, see Abū Ishāk Ibrāhim b Ahmad al Khawwās
Khwāja Ahrār see Nasiruddin Ubaidullāh Ahrār
Khwaja Bahāuddin Nakshband see Muhammad b Muhammad
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Muhammad Ali (translator of the *Kur ān*) 33 n4
Muhammad al Bākir (Imām) 17 n3
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Muhammad Husain (author of *Anwār ul Ārifin*) 24 n14

INDEX I

[Translation]

Names of Persons

In the following Index prefixes like **Abu, Ibn** and **Umm** are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement thus, for example names like **Abul Hasan Ibn i-Muljam** must be sought under **H** and **M** respectively not under A and I The letter **b** between two names stands for **Ibn**, 'son of ' the letter **d** coming after a person's name relates to his death and **c** (*circa*) to the approximate date of his birth or death as the case may be A number placed in parenthesis after the name of ruler relates to the beginning and end of his reign and *n* after the number of a page indicates a footnote

'Abbaside (Caliphs), 132–656 A H **17** *n*2

'Abdul Kādir al Jilānī *See* Muhiuddin Abū Muhammad Abdul Kādir b Abi Ṣāliḥ Mūsā al Jīlī

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'Abdullāh Ansārī *see* Abū Isma il Khwāja Abdullāh Ansārī

Abdullāh b Mas'ūd called Ibn Mas ūd d 32 A H **32**

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'Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī*, *see* Nūrud din 'Abdur Rahmān *Jami*

Adam (Prophet) **38**

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Ahmad al Ghazzālī d 517 A H **22**

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Akbar (963–1014) A H **3** *n*2

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Alī b Mūsā ar Ridā **17** *n*3 **24** *n*18

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Ibn al Arabī, *see* Muhiuddin Ibn al Arabī

al 'Askarī *see* al Hasan al Askarī

'Attār *see* Abū Tālib Muhammad b Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm

Avicenna, d 428 A H **26** *n*31

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al Bākir *see* Muhammad al Bākir

Abū Bakr Abdullāh, surnamed Atīk (Caliph), d 13 A H **17** *n*3 **18** *n*1 **22, 23** *n*6 *n*10

Abū Bakr b Dulaf b Jahdar ash Shiblī d 201 A H **22**

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K have صد کرور for هزار and omit سال دنیا , 9 A omits روز before سنجاه and also omits هزار , A omits مقدار است و هر روز , H reads هر روز ازین سنجاه و هر روز ازین سنجاه هزار هزار سال مقدار است , K has هر روز ازین سنجاه هزار سال هزار سال هزار سال مقدار است and R has هزار سال مقدار است , 10 11 A R omit تا آن all texts add صد سال after پس , A has مدت ظهور و تمامی عالم , و مدت روز ظهور تمامی عالم را , H has مدت ظهور و تمامی عالم را and K has مدت عمر روز و تمامی عالم , و مدت عمر روز و تمامی عالم , K has هزار for هفتصد 12 A, H, K have صد کرور for هزار سال A, H, K read خصوصیت عدد هرده برای این است که مراتب اعداد نزد انسان منحصر در هرده است , 14 15 A, H, K omit شمار H omits فلامقها را که درین , A, K read قامتهای که درمیان گذشت و خواهند گذشت آن را قیامت صغری گویند و موحدان هند آن را قدر کهنده برای گویند 16 A K have این روز را شام شود , K adds قدر before روز , 17 all texts have و حُکم for بحکم

٣٩ 2 A, K add بندگان and H adds بندگان after مانند , A, H, K add برای این آثار بظهور خواهد رسید after کتاب and R adds بظهور خواهد رسید , 3 R adds استحال after استهلاک , R omits سه در حضرت , 5 R omits سکهوت و حدوث 6 A, H, K have فراغت از ایجاد و معدم , R adds دلالت میکند after کرتیه 8 R adds خلق و اظهار عالم after سکهوت , حدوث 9 R omits تردسه سده و بعد از , 11 A has درین باب for در سبیل 12 R omits است و این , 15 R omits ادوار and adds و یک روز before و نه همین , 16 17 R adds و بی تاری است , R has و بار چون روز تمام مسدود سب میگردد R reads چون این سب , 18 R omits الی عبدالنهایت , R adds حضرت جناب before خواجه , 19 A omits اشارة بهمین بی نهادی و بی تاریخ از , R reads بی نہایتی ادوار نموده فرموده

۴۰ 2 All texts have آتیه but in Brock edition of *Dīwān i Hāfiz* هرجه is given 4 A has بعینه خود گند , 5 A, K, R add بار اعاده کنم تمام شدن دورهٔ عالم جه آدم after حلقه 6 7 A has ظهور و حلقه همان , 9 10 R adds از قدرت کاملهٔ خود after کنم , R و ابوالبشر بعینه بیدا شود

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reads لهذا حاتمت پیغمبر ما (صلعم) ازین باب بمقصود رسوا که در روز دیگر پیغمبر
علیه الصلوة والسلام بعینه موجود خواهد شد , 13 R adds درمیان راه
before قطار , R adds سفر after یکی , 14 R adds و آنها را بنشاند
و صندوق بگشاد و دید که در هر صندوق after بار اسب , 15 R adds تا اخی
after دوستی که , 16 A, K, R omit تا صندوق , 17 R adds اسرار after این ,
18 A has که موسوم بمجمع البحرین گشته , 19 R has حضرت النبی صلّی
اللّه علیه و سلّم A omits بدون , R omits سدس , 20 R has بی اندوه
after دارا شکوه

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حدر را هضم میکند after است , A adds بدن and H, K add تمامی بدن after رگهای , 12 A adds آدم after رگها and R adds آدمی after باب ,
13 in the texts the Sanskrit terms are so hopelessly mutilated that, in most cases, it was impossible for me to decipher them correctly 15 16 R adds و باد after آواز R omits است و حسک سدن ,
17 H, K, R only have و آب حوردن (omitted in translation) 18 A has عالم تا بن for بالای , 19 20 R reads جمیع اقسام ستارها جواهر حادثه تحسس ندس , مها درس است , R omits راست

۳۴ 3 R omits حماته کنول , 4 5 A has شاه for نفس and adds و نفس R omits دارد دل هم , A H, K omit باشد و این از 7 R adds و بدر after ماه 8 9 A, H, K omit وست کمان مها درس است , A H, K add دست گمان مها درس است هوا دران مها درس است ؛ اعمال که ادهرم , کوه واف که سدر باشد مساره after باشد دست مها درس است , A reads for کوه سمدر درب , 10 A omits مها درس است سمر 11 A H K have از جمله هست ترسده لوکنال اند , R adds راحه before اندر , 12 A has و دست حب امساک تحسس مهادرس است for موت بدرت , 13 14 R omits
16 R adds انگشت after ناخنهای 17–19 the texts here are hopelessly confused and R has entirely re written this portion , 20 A, H, K have کف for کنف

۳۵ 2 A adds باد and R adds باد after اناست , A H, K omit تاریک ,
4 R has آواز گران for روی مبارک , 5 A has رنج و کاهش for رنج , A has طبع عالم , 6 H, K add دنوی after العب and R has نوی , A omits بن , 7 H, K have حواهس for حورس , A omits همه , 8 A omits آب , A, H, K have حلق for دهن , R adds و ار چهار before عنصر آب , 9 H, K omit است سرسای موت ناطقه , A H, K omit چهار and چار کتاب , 10 A, H, K omit معای عسق , R adds که ناحنب عنصر حاک ورت سامعه مها درس است after عسق اسارت بداست 11 R adds است after است اسدی کمار نفس ردن مها درس , هردو گوس , 12 R omits است , 13 A has عنصر باد for عنصر حاک , 15 A, H, K omit باد
16 17 R omits بنیائی مها درس است و اصل دور , A, H, K add عالم

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after آذرنیس , while R adds عالم نمای , 18 R omits برهم زدن روز
19 A omits موکّل , A has آس for نوسنا , R reads مهابرس است
نوسنا نام موکّل که بر مهر و عصب است

۳۶ 2 R has هرلوک and A has سب لوک for لوک , 3 A omits و کتاب
الله , 4 A, H K have لوکها for کوهها , H omits بدن , 6 A, H read
آفتاب درخشیدن و صفای بدن , while K adds حُسن before آفتاب , 7 R
adds بدن مها برس after و برنان هند این مهابرس را بهراب سروپ نیز گویند
انسان کامل مها شدهٔ است , R omits است صورت , 8 R reads
و مها برس و ظلّ‌الله و مظهر آیات ذات حلوت خانه , 9 A reads
از خانه چنانکه حکم شد بداوٗد , 10 H adds داوٗد before گفت , A reads
و صرّهٔ از خانه بو باکی , 11 R has دار for کُن and نیرنهی and R has
adds تا من درو خانهٔ خود کنم و فرمود که با داوٗد ادا رانب لی طالباً وکن له
خادماً یعنی ای داوٗد هر کجا بینی عاشق مرا پس سو او برای او خدمتکار باری
دهنده با او نمی نرسد , R adds پس before هرچه , R omits بر سبیل , R
reads درین برهمانڈ بتفصیل بر ذات انسان کامل مکمّل اکمل که او نسخهٔ عالم
بطریق اجمال و بتفصیل و او خلاصهٔ موجودات است بر 12 R reads کند است
خانهٔ این آیت کریمه ناطق در شان , 13 R reads هیچ یکی از مخلوقات نسبت
اوست , 16 K R omit یعنی رستگاریٔ همه R omits در دانست , R
reads اصهال صمحلال در ذات , 18 R omits و بهشت و دوزخ , A, H, K
omit و ست , R adds مسدور after ذات

۳۷ 1 2 R omits the Persian translation 4 A, H add خدا after روز
and ست , R has جسم for ست , 7 R omits در باب بودن در حقّت , 8 A, H,
K add موبّد after همیشه , 9 A, H, K read مراد از ابدیت این مُکث است ,
10 A, K, R have عذاب ازلی درو هست , A, H K omit چنانچه and
have در باب این چنین جماعت است این دو آیهٔ کریمه , 12–15 the
Persian translation is defective in all the texts, and the variants are
too many , 19 20 A has مرده for مردی , K reads درنگ کنندگان باشند
و جاودان مانندگان اندرو

۳۸ 2 A reads زدویت و طهور و بطون , R omits الوهیت and بطون , 4 A, H,

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نامهای آن R has نامهای این هفت سمندر A reads 5 , گویند محیط درناها , H adds که سبب سمندر گویند after دریا , 9 A has آب شیرین for هفتم سواحل , A reads هفتم تنگ سمندر که آن را ترک گویند for , سر بودن دریاها تعدد هفتم نزد اهل , A reads تعداد دریای هفت R has for زلال بعنی , H, K بعنی اگر بدرسای A has 11 , اسلام بابت باس آنکه کرده است بعنی A, K read بعنی مقدرات است R omits 13 , اگر بدرسدکه موحدان A has 15 , مقدر است حدا ۱ر هر زمین و کوهی K 17 , has مصحفان , 19 H reads که مقرر است و ستاره اند

۲۷ 5 A reads و آن بدین لطیفی که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد , 6 A, H, K have حواله از عمل تنگ حواله از عمل بد , A, H, K add فراغ after بعد , 7 A omits و بی بوقت , H omits و بی , 8 R omits مدبرند , 12 A, H, K add سخت after فرناد , H adds دراز and A adds راز after ناله , K could not be deciphered 14 A adds که انها را از آنجا بر آرد after پروردگار , 15 A adds باشند بس and H, K add شدند بس and شده اند respectively, after بجب , A has حاودان بآن باشند , A, H omit تا هنگامیکه , 16 H reads پروردگار بر خواهند , R has از دوزخ for از آنجا , 17 R omits از دوزخ بر آورده بر آوردن 19 H has بعد از این آیت فرموده and R has این حدیث روایت کرده

۲۸ 4 H, R have دارد and A has رساند for در آرد , 5 H, K read باب شده از and A reads درین معنی باب شده , 7 A, K read این رستگاری عظیم است H has و این رستگاری بزرگ است 8 A, H, K omit بطور موحدان هند , 12 R omits the translation , 13 A has معلوم for مفهوم , A has مفهوم for معلوم , 14 A, K, R omit بعنی وقتیکه , A, H, K add در before صور , 15 A, H, K add و هر که در before رسمها 17 K has بسجودی and A has بسجردی for بسجری , A, H, K omit هم and و هم , 19 H has نمودن and R has نمودن for بدون

۲۹ 1 A, H, K omit والاکرام بموجب , 4 R adds اعتباری after بعتاب , 5 H omits ظاهر مسود while R has طهور می نماید , 6 R adds و فردوس اکبر است after اعلی باشد 7 R reads و ملک نزد انسان نیز

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رسنگاری و H has , رسنکار before رسد و A adds 9 , هر سه قسم است
هر A adds و دیک و بد , R omits بسد و کی , R omits 10 اخلاص
before بیک 11 R reads بلکه بحود بکند نلکه بعمر بسبب , بلکه نجدا کند و بد را
R has عار for عین and بسناسد for بساسد , 13 A, H K have
کنیز A has کلید صددیت and R صور کلّه for صورت کلّت R adds
اطیف before حسمانی , 14 A adds و ابدی , H adds و ابدای and K
has و آن after لطیف , 15 all texts omit و آن را A, H, K omit
معنّی A, H, K have درّة و حسی for درّة دانکوة , 17 R reads ایصای
و احسای مخطه ماکنره یک فرد است , 18 R omits یک فرد است , A, H
K omit داب أو

۳۲ 2 A, H, K omit lines 2 to 3, 4 A has سنح سعدی , 8 A, K
have دکرها همه من for دکر شنوة و من , 9 A omits مثل نماس وعدة , 10,
R has بدرانهه سرس for اورا , 11 A has اسان for صوتی صافی , H, K
omit صافی , A H K omit است که ابتدا , 12 H has نظر دانسته اند
14 A omits باشد , R has کعب نای , H omits است نیست , A has
ناخن نای for باحنهای نای مها برس اند , A omits نسب نای , و سناطین
15 K has ساتان for سواری and omits سلطان in A H, K the des
cription of کال comes before ابل , 20 A, H, K omit تمام عالم

۳۳ 1 H has مرحّلت , 3 A, H K have دست راست و چپ سه کوة
and omit مها برس است , 4 A omits است و سمدر , 5 A, H K
omit است روسنی صبح کاذب , A adds که سفید است and H, K add
که رنگ سفید دارد after صادق , 6 A, H, K omit حامة حادر مها برس ,
R only has که اَلْکثر نَار رِدائی اسارة بآن منکند (omitted in transla
tion), 7 A has روسنی for وقت while H, K add روسنی before وقت , A
has که سرح است for که رنک سفق داراد , R has ابرار for بارچة سفر عورت
8 R only has اَلْعَطَّة اِرَارِيّ کتابة بآن منکند (omitted in translation),
A, H, K omit حلقه و عمق , 9 A H, K omit مکان , A, H, K omit
نمندمند همت دریا 11 A H, K add و در سمندر می باشد after کرد ,
A, H, K omit و ابن and گرمی A, H, K add که آن آتش همه
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نبرند , 8 R has نرسیدند , 9 all texts, except R omit خود , 10 V has بر and A, H, K have در for از , R reads و امر و سخن حق شنید , all texts, except R, omit حق , H, K, V have امت اکثری and R has امتی اکثر , 11 A, H, K add جدا after عصیان K has متعبدان and H has تعبدان for مقلدان , 12 A has زمان زمانی for زمان ما , A omits آنانکه, while H has آنهائکه R adds تقلید محض after نرس , 13 all texts except H, have نور رسیده اند , H, K add صورتهای and A adds صوتهای before مرعوب , 14 R adds خود را هلاک نمودند after اند , R reads نیروی بوده است نیز همیشه , 16 R has خور و فلک , 18 R reads زنهار نباید نمود و خواهد بود and V reads بوده است همان تا نوهم خواهد بود , R adds after the verse (صلعم) و این مرتبه نبوت بکماله متحقق نیست , 20 A V have نبوت کامل متحقق نیست , while H, K have نبوت کامل نبوت متحقق نیست , A adds تنزیهه و تسبیحه است after وَ سَلَّمَ , while H, K add تنزیهه و تسبیحه only , R reads جامع التشبیه والتنزیه و جامع المطلق والمقید , A has رنگ و رنگ while R reads رنگ در بیرنگی و بیرنگی در رنگ , 21 all texts except K, omit نزدیک و دور , all texts, except K have یکی for یکجا

۲۳ 2 R has تسبیه for تنزیه , R omits بُوَد و سودای 3 A reads این مرتبه جامع است و جامعیت , H reads این مرتبهٔ بلند جامعیت و قابلیت K reads این مرتبه جمعیت و جامعیت all texts, except R, omit برین و اعلی برین , 4 all texts, except R, omit بنیاد , all texts except R, omit پس رسول ما , A, H, K have مشرق و مغرب , 5 R omits نبوت عبارتست از نبوت تنزیهی , 6 H omits شامل , 7 all texts, except R, have این جنس , R adds کامله after ولایت , 8 R has حق for یعنی در امت محمدی , 9 H, K add در امت محمدی and V adds هم وصف after تنزیه اند , R, which has apparently been transcribed by a *Shī'a* adds بهترین افراد نوع انسانی که بخطاب لحمک لحمی (و) فرمان انا مدینة العلم و علی بابها شاه ولایت حضرت علی کرم الله وجهه تا امام مهدی صلوة الله علیه و سلامه، و از آنجمله سرگروه اولیا که بخطاب انی لاجد نفس الرحمن من قبله الیمن ذات مبارک حضرت اویس قرنی رحمة الله علیه و در زمان دیگر "

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10 A omits چادحه در رمان , 12 V has ادریس و سیل و اوس , K has ادریس و مثل ابواللیب and H reads ادریس و مثل بوس , 13–18 the proper names have, in all the texts, been hopelessly mutilated in R several names have been omitted, H omits و امثال انسان , in V ابوالقاسم گرگانی و در رمان دیگر is omitted

۲۴ 1–2 in R several names have been omitted, in R و حضرت شمس تبریز is added after عطّار , 4 R, while omitting the names of جامی, خواجه احرار , خواجه نقشبند and سیّد قاسم انوار, adds the names of سیّد حسن ، میر محمّد افضل حق نما ، خواجه حافظ شیراز ، حافظ نظام الدین رسول نما , 6 all texts, except H, omit و بابا لال بیراگی , 8 A reads بر صورت کثرت , اوّل برهمانند تعیّن و ظهور حضرت واجب الوجود است , H reads کرّه صدور است , 11 A, H, K, R have گفته اند for گویند , 14 A omits این را , قرار داده اند و اعتبار نموده A has , جهتی اعتبار نموده , A reads که جهان میگویند

۲۵ 1 A R add ستّاره after ستاره , A reads ستّاره اند بدین نام نامند
4 A, K have ستاره ها ثوابت H has ستاره های ثابت and R reads هم میدهند و همین آسمان را حکما فلک , II has ثوابت ستاره ها after و موحّدان هند آن را II omits آن را , همین آسمان را حکما , 5-6 A, H read بجهت آنست که , مها اکاس دانسته داخل , H, K have R reads سبب نزدیک , محیط است , 9 A has سبب نابال , K has سابت دیت and R has ربع مسکون میگویند for سبب دال , 10 R has یک یک , 15 A reads حکما قسمت کرده اند و آن را هفت اقلیم , 16 R omits هم , و این , H, K add اهل هند before این , 17 all texts, except K, omit رمین , II, K omit ب R omits بمراتب مثل , 18 A adds حدو دیپ و بلکه دیپ مکندد after و کسور دیپ ، ساکمل دیپ و ساگر دیپ ، دیوکر دیپ

۲۶ 1 A reads و نامهای این هفت کوه ها چنین می نامند 3 all texts have وَ جَعَلْنَا الْجِبَالَ أَوْتَادًا , A, R omit واقع است , A has گردانیم , 4 H omits هفت دریا را که سپت سمندر , هر یکی ازان هفت کوه , H, K read آن را انسان سپت سمندر , میگویند محیط هر یکی ازان کوه میدانند , A reads

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have در for بر , 9 A, R, K omit هم R has ربّانی for سنّت و الجماعت -
10 A, H, K, V omit همه , A, H, V, K have صرف for بحت , R
reads يعنى اگر متكلفى كه بحت را نتوان ديد كه ديدن ذات بحت محال است
K omits را , A omits نتوان ديد , K omits اين , 11 all texts, except
R, add و صرف , A reads چه ذات بحت و صرف و لطيف بى تعيّن با متعيّن ,
نگردد , V reads ذات بحت و صرف و لطيف است متعيّن نگردد , 12 R reads
از سدّت لطافت حلوة گر نميشود , 14 all texts, except R, omit زيراكه R
has چون for هرگاه , V has محال for كمال , R adds از كمال قدرت before
قادر , 15 R adds بر after نبودن خود , R has پس هركه , A, H have
نتواند در آنجا ديد 17 A H, K add پس آن شخص after محروم است ,
18 R adds و بى بهرة after محروم , A omits از نعمت جمال من , 19,
R adds و بعضى از نا رسيدگان before سبعه , R omits درين مسئلة خطاى
عظيم كردة اند , 20 R omits ممكن and has درست for بهر حال صورى
دانست

۱۹ 1 all texts, except R, omit ايشان جميع , R has خطاى عظيم كردة اند
for اين نهايت خطا ست , 2 all texts, except R, have كاملان و انبيا و اوليا ,
R omits خدا را A has ديدند , all texts, except R, omit با احترام ,
3 R has كلام حق را از همه و از همه جهات بشنوند 4 all texts, except
R, omit اللّه باشد , all texts have جدابجدا for جداگانه , 5 A, H, K
add از خدا after جبر و سر , R omits و جايهاى مشرّك , 7 all texts,
except R, omit از نا رسيدگان , R omits در معنى و لفظ , 8 H, K, V
read اين حديث كه حضرت رسول اللّه (صلعم) در جواب حضرت عايشة
صديقة وديكه نرسيدة بود —(جواب is evidently a mistake for خواب)—, A
adds وقتى before نرسيد , 9 R has made strange additions and
alterations چون عايشة خورد سال بود نفهميد و اين معنى ندانست لهذا گفت
نورست چگونه مى بينم , A, V have نورانيست for نورست , 10 A H, V
have آنانكه for آنها , 11 R reads اين را دليل نا ديدن تعبير مى‌آرند غلط
محض است و بى وقوف اند , all texts omit لاكن اين , 12 all texts,
except R, omit نام , 13 V adds در ديدهٔ نور و اگر حس نظر بذات بحت
و هرنگ است after نيرنگ است , 16 R adds جمال before پروردگار,

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17 all texts, except R, have برای روت for بر روت پروردگار جَلَّ شَانُهُ, unfortunately, a sentence has been omitted in the printed text which runs as follows حه اس دیدن متعلق بلفظ رب شده است که اورا در بس اس دیدن تعیّن ربوبیت می توان داد and R's reading is as follows بس اس دیدن بدان بحث after بدرنگی, لا تعیّن است در همه تعیّن و تعیّنات, 18 R adds و لا تعیّن است after بدرنگی, 19 all texts add اورا after بصرها, R adds بیرنگیست و او دربابد صاحب دیده ها را A has و او, A, R omit و اُو, R adds بس اس آب هم مانع ادراک بحث میسود نه مانع روت

٢٠ 5 K omits درمیان, 6 R adds و حسم مبارک after حسم, 7 K adds بهارت and R adds و کمال شهود و کمال عرفان after روت, A, H, K have روت after اس, R reads و اس روت را از دنیا مانع نیست و در آخرت خدای تعالی را اسمای, 10 A reads درکار نیست

٢١ 3 H omits اسم, H has الحی and A, R have حق for الحق, 4 A adds و مرید را سونیر گویند, K has مرشد را سونت and H, R have مرید را سونت after در سنا خوانند, 5 R omits بربان انسان, 6 R adds یعنی حضرت محمّد مصطفیٰ صلی الله علیه و آله و سلّم و حضرت علی کرّم الله آں باسد برد انسان before مطهرانم, R adds وجهه را مہا اوبار نامند after and معجزهٔ before ندرت, 7 all texts, except R, omit و ازوجود او بنظر آید, R has نوع انسانی, 8 A, K have بتواند سد H has بتوان شد and V has بوده باسد for بشود, all texts, except R, omit که ریسمان دارل شود 9 10 A, V have صعب برس وجی برمس آں اسب, H has صعب برس وحی ها برمس and K has اوقات وجیع ما آنست وحی آنست, 11 R omits و جون, 12 A has جوبان حنان, K has حوران حنان and R has جوبان حسنان for مسود, K adds و بمان گویند after انجهرا گوبند, 13 R has دشتان for بدان, A reads دیوان سناطس اند

٢٢ 4 H adds یعنی مدرّه و هم مسابهت دارد که نور مدرّه هم است و مسابه هم توان گفت after و الدربهه, all texts omit اوّل, while R has بس, 5 A omits بدربهه, 6 R has وعظ و تلقس کنند and V has هدایت کنند for خوانند, 7 R omits و از دول آنها نعمی برد, all texts except V, have

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A, V read باها درازکن حوس می حست , 12 A adds اشارت باس معدی و دریا before است

۱۳ 1 A has هوبّت for لاهوت , 4 A, V, K add باد and H adds و باد after آواز 5 all texts have بحهد for دوست , A reads آواز باد را بعرای همدباں بعس الرحماں که بحهت اتحاد لفظ کن طاهر شد , 6 A, H, K, V add باد after آواز , 8 A H read همه عالم صدای نعمهٔ اوست , 9 K reads که بسدد ابں صدای را هم آواز , 13 A, H, R omit آگاه after اکار

۱۴ 1 K omits دی , H K omit الفاظ 3 4 A V read اوّل طاهر سده , H has الف واو مدم باسد , R has او باسد and K has اوون باسد طاهر شد , 6 R reads دس ارں طاهر ىد , H reads اسم راست صوربی حاص A reads مر اس اسم اعطم را صوربست حاص , H reads اسم راست صوربی حواست and R reads مر اس اسم را صوربی است حاص , 7 R, V omit ما

۱۵ 2 K has بصورت for بصعت 4 V adds الصفات اولىاٴی در حق ابسان حود بومودة after مصرّة است 5 K adds وربگ که after صفات R has اولىای اکمل , all texts, except R, omit حق سبحانه تعالى , 6 R has دیگر بمی باید for دیگری در بمی باید , 7 H, V have سخصی , 8 R has رود for سود H has بسد and V بکند for بىسىد , H, V omit به بحشم بىد , 9 all texts, except R omit و حال آنکه , 10 all texts except H, omit همىسه A, R have همه اس کارها , K V have اس همه کارها and H omits همه , 11 R adds حسم before حراع , R has همان در یکدیگر , all texts, except R omit حلّ ساىه

۱۶ 1 A has دهم for دکر R has اصل همه درع است for حای فراست و فکراست , 2 R has التفکر ساعة حیر من عمل عبادة الثقلین , H reads التفکر فی ساعة حیر من عمل الثقلین , K reads و بفکروا ساعة حیر من عمل الثقلین , V reads تفکر ساعة حیر من عمل الثقلین and A reads تفکر ساعة حیرا من عمل الثقلین , 3 R reads یعنی دریں فکر بودن بهتر است 5 R omits مفهوم میگردد , 6 all texts, except R, omit ابں دور , all texts, except R, have همیشه after حود بحود all texts have حواله بماند بمابد حواله عالم درو , 7 R adds لفظ before دور , K has دور for مدوّر R has کرده اند for میکنند ,

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H reads تفسیر نمیکنند K has تعبیر for تفسیر, 8 A, H have نمیتوّر تعبیر اوروحده after بآن چراغ, 13 all texts add شیشه, 12 V omits نکرده اند, 15 R has حال آنکه and H has با آنکه for با آنکه, all texts, except R, have بآن روغن for باو, 16 H, K have نورست در نور, while V omits بر نور, 17 H, K, V have سخصی را که for هر کرا که, 18 all texts omit این باشد که, A has طایفه

17 1 A, K V add و آن شیشه که روح است after روح است, H has و آن و اوروحده شده, R omits هم, 2 3 A, H, K omit شیشه که هم روح است اوروحده شده است از شجرهٔ مبارک ذات که مترّه A reads است آن چراغ است, 3 R adds صلوة الله علیه و سلّم after نور وجود all texts, except R, omit حق سبحانه تعالی 4 all texts omit مراد است, A, R read از رب for ازین روح, 5 R has که ده, که ده سرشت ده عربی except R, omit که نه ازلی و نه ابدی است R adds مبارک after رب, 6 all texts, except R, omit و بادان, 7 A, K add موحّدان after آسمان and H adds موحّدان هند, R omits اسماد, 8 A K have ربّون for بانور و سماع کتاب نبست, A reads صورت سماع کتاب نسبت, H has ناسوت K has و ساعتی و اکتساب ببست, R has و سماع کتاب نبست and V has و سماع و کتاب نبست, 9 all texts, except R, omit دائی, 10 V has نورانیّت for نور رب, all texts add با after رب, K has عالب, R omits و باین و بعنی از, 11 H, K, R have بانیهها and A با وجود انبهها for و باین, V has با وجود for او حود, 14 A omits طاهراست نور داب, 16 all texts, except H, omit نور, all texts, except R omit بالان و, 17 A, H have از کسب نور ذات, while V has از کسب ذات, K has اوروحده for افروده

18 3 A adds و بتشم باطن بابد د ید after بتحسم سر, 5 H, K, V add و احلاقی and A adds احلاق after سباس, A omits و سدابان and V has ابدابان for سابان K adds دو after هر, 6 all texts, except K, omit حه اهل نورنت و حه اهل انحیل و چه اهل بند, in A the order is و چه اهل انجیل و چه اهل زبور و فرآن، 7 A has باوصاف for با سدابان, V omits هر که انکار روئت نماید, A reads ملت حود کرده هر که انکار روئت کرده, 8 all texts

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، مرتبه مبی و نوئی K , حساب محسوسه for حسّاب محسوس , 11 R has omits می اند , که من و تو , V adds ارین سخن after تو , A has دور هستم for دور می اند , 12 H, K repeat هر این نسبت , 13 A has آدمی for بشری , 14 H has معنّی and R has نعش for مبغض , 16 R has و از معارف سکلت تا مراتب , all texts, except R, omit یعنی قلب , K omits و از سکلت من و از من که آن را ترکیب تر گویند 17 R reads احسام for احساء H has , گمان for گرم , 18 A, H, R have تیخ گمان اندری

٨ 1 R only has حیرتیل امین باشد است اول که طهور before این (omit in trans) , 2 all texts, except V have است for گرداننده , 3 all texts have حمایدته for حمایله , 4 V omits قدود وهمی را , R has قدوداب for قدوة 5 R omits است حود را 6 H omits گلها , 7 all texts, except R, omit دار و هوش , K omits نهان بود نس نهان و هوش از , 8 all texts, except R omit معدّس , 11 all texts, except R, omit که حه and و چه H, K, A omit بی before احتدار 12 all texts, except R, omit هر آن , V reads همی باشد for همیشه , 14 all texts, except R omit و آن درون رفتن و برون آمدن دم را , all texts, except R, have تعبیر بدو لفظ کرده اند , 15 H, V, A have سُو for او , all texts, except R, have برون for درون , A has هنگ, V هس , H حُن and R has ون for من , R adds این دو لفظ را که او باشد هو میگویند و آن لفظ ون را الله و این دو لفظ , 17 18 H, K, V, A omit و او بی حد است , مبدااند

٩ 2 All texts, except R, have الله تعالی را برد صومعه دو صفت است 5 all texts have جون before صومعه , K, R omit صفت after صومعه , all texts except H, have مندرج before دیده 6 all texts, except H have موکلّان for دهرای هند , 10 H R, A omit ناسواندل و آب و باد , 12 K, R omit در زبان , 13 A reads روشنی و نور اروست و نیائی از آن طاهر شد , R reads روشنی و نور و نیائی است از آن طاهر شد , H reads as A but has دروست for اروست , 14 V omits فادی سود در نیدی , 15 A adds دو نقطه در صور اسرافیل یعنی آواز مهادر نعمدی نفس زدن و نقطه ارین طاهر شد , 16 R omits صفت هم حق باشد , 18 all texts omit متعلوق

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۱۰ 1 All texts, except R, omit آن را و ارس , 2 V has سب گی for رحوگی and omits دعلق دارد , 3 V has رحگی for سب گی , 6 A has حدوآدما for آدما , 7 H, K, R have معدود for مجرّد, while A reads معدود , 8 K adds بجهة معدّد بودن که before درمرتبه , all texts, except K, have بتعدّد اوّل متعدّد گشت , 9 A, V, H omit که با ذات متجمع الصّفات , R has جامع الصفات , all texts omit و دانسته , 10 11 H reads نفس و مرح و آب , V reads نفس و روح and A, R read نفس و مرح آب , all texts read که سرور و آدما باشد A has حدوآدما for آدما , A omits مانند و مجموعة , 13 R has نفس for جنس , A reads آب صرف بحب (?) بمنزلة حضرت واجب الوجود باشد

۱۱ 2 A adds ناچار گرپر گرپر after امّ الدماغ است یعنی کپال , 5 R has مواوی , 7 all texts omit عالم before ملکوت , 9 all texts have اراں بنسب for مناسب , 11 H omits عالم ارواح , R adds وعده after باشد , V adds در آن نفوس آن عالم ارواح باشد after حروب که عالم ارواح باشد 12 R reads , باشد که در آن عالم ابدیر , R omits بدی while H has بسدی for أسناد , A has حواة جسم بوسیدة بدی حواة را کردة , 14 V omits بدی سرة , K omits سرة بعدادی K, R have حدر دادة و فرمودة

۱۲ 1 R has الصوّف , H has نسبی , H has بی‌ع for بی , A has برسند for گفت , 2 R has حه باشد و چه حواهد بود and V has حه مقسود for چه بود , R, V omit که برمود , H, K have فرمودة , A omits که , A has دیدن for دیدار , R has زیراکه and A, H, K, V have که for چه , A adds را after بسنده , K reads و بسنده در بی‌ع دیدار عقلب است , 3 H omits که نفوس , 4 R has سماعت for ساعت , H, K, A have بخاطر نگذارد , while V has نگذارد , In R, from که نفوس عالم باشوب up to p 13, line 12, is omitted , 5 A omits است اسارة , 6 A, V add با after حواهی که , A omits یک and has معدوآنس for معدوس , 7 A, H, V add با after حواهی که , A, H have بداسی and V has بداسی for مداسی 9 H has آشکارا for آشکار , 10 A, H read بدرون سوی بدرهان , V reads بدرون سوی رماسی, while K reads بدرون سوی ر درهان , 11 H,

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دس , 21 R has بخواص و عوام H, V A omit جنابنده all texts omit عبدالله, except V, which has نصرالله

۳ 1 K می نرمودند for نرموده , all texts, except V, have در for بر A, R, V بهبحار , A adds و می آمورم after سوم , A adds ارو after دار , 4 A has همس ناسوتی , 9 R has موجود for موجودات , 10 R has و آن before نرحق , A, H K have احق R احل for نرحق , H adds اصل after است 11 A has کتب for کتاب , 13 A has دریان هندی for دریان نرس , A adds و اهل اسلام را before وکتب 14 A omits موحدان هند , A has نوشنده and V مخفی for نهان , 15 R has نداوریدنم دال است for طاهر کردم H K, A omit برای ساحب حود , R has دس ساحبه سدم after حلق را

۴ 2 V has احمال H احماعسب , K, A عمارب for اعطیب 3 R omits آنس ندنا شد و حون آن نعس , A has حسس for حاس , 4 A, H K, V have محتعب for بعتب , 5 V omits آب و حون ندنا شد , K, R, A have اتحاد for اتعاد , 7 A, H have نسبب نآن , 8 A V, H, K have طاهر for ندنا , 9 H has سرک and A سر for سری , 13 14 all MSS , except R, omit the verse سنا شد یک قطره , 17 V has و آن را آب for و بعد اران حاک را آب , 18 V has برو حواهد برد before ساحب , A, H have نروح اعظم for نا روح اعظم R has ناد را روح اعظم , حواهد نموسب , 21 A, V omit the translation of the verse of the *Kur'ān*

۵ 1 H has بوده and K has شود for بوَد , H, R have می before ماند , R omits بر after نروردگار , 2 all texts, except K, omit کرنمه , A, H have ادنای for دنای , 3 K has است after زنده , H omits است after اکاس , R omits آن before ما , 4 H has دانسب for دانی حواهد سد , 5 A has است for ناسد , R, V omit ناسد , R omits حه , 6 V has گونند for نامند all texts, except V, have رائده for ندنا , 7 V omits درو , A has اس before آنه کرنمه , 8 A, H, V have اران for ار , 9 V omits نار , A has درو نرنم for حواهم برد and V has و دران حاک نررندم

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for the same, R adds و بار بحاک سپردیم سما را, V omits از آن خاک, A has بار before بدرون 10 A adds خمسه after حواس, 11 H V have عنصر for عناصر, H adds بیگانه after عنصر, K omits پنج عناصر, V has حواس پنج اند, V omits بربان, 12 R has هندی for هند A, H, V omit بربان, 13 A has ارا and K has آنهارا for آن را, 14 V has ار for ارس H and R have ار for ارس before عناصر, A has مدملو before حس, 15 K omits و منسوب بآن, A has باشد after منسوب بآن, A R have حاسه before شامه H omits است before بحاک, R has چراکه for که, 16 R has پس for و after خاک, all texts, except K, have کند, V has احسان for احساس, all texts have مناسب for منسوب, except K, which has مناسبت دارد, 17 H reads حاسه که دائقه طاهر است, A has مناسب است for مناسبت دارد, 18 R has ادراک for درک, V has رنگ for رنگها, A omits است after بجسم, K omits هر دو and R has درو for هر دو, H has سامعه for لامسه

٦ 1 R omits باد است بسبب را لامسه, A has مناسبت دارد for منسوب است 2 H has بسبب for که سبب 4 V omits و موحّدان هند که صوفیه اس را, 5 A, H K, V have شغل آواز for شغل باس انفاس, A, H, K, V omit در اصطلاح خود, V has موحّدان هند for انسان, 6 all MSS have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses, 8 H, K, V have چیرانید کرن, while A has چیرانیس کرن, 9 A has برب, K, H have سرب برکرب, V has سُرب, R has برب for سب برکرب, 11 all texts have جانب or بجانب for طرف, all texts, except V, have من for آن, 12 V has هرسمت for عرسمت, H, V, R have پنج and A has قسم for پنج, 13 R has هرطرف و هرسو, 15 V has که انسان میگویند عسق است, 17 all texts, except R, have کلّی احاطه

٧ 1 2 A omits translation of the *Kur'ānic* verse, 3 A, H have بس after all اوست, 4 H has باشد for باشد 6 all texts have والله, 7 R has هردو for طهور, 9 H has اولی and R has ارلی for ادنی, 10 A, H have هندس محسوس, V has و هندسه محسوسه and K has

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بس , 21 R has بخواص و عوام , H, V, A omit جنابه , all texts omit عبدالله, except V, which has نصرالله

٣ 1 K has می فرمودند for فرموده , all texts, except V, have در for بر , A, R, V اختیار , A adds و می آموزم after سوم , A adds ازو after دار , 4 A has همین ناسوتی , 9 R has موجود for موجودات , 10 R has و آن before برحق , A, H, K have اهل R اهل for برحق , H adds اصل after است , 11 A has کتب for کتاب , 13 A has برهان هندی for برهان برین A adds و اهل اسلام را before موحّدان هند , 14 A omits وکتب دال است , A has پوشیده and V مخفی for پنهان , 15 R has ساختم for طاهر کردم , H, K A omit برای ساحت خود R has پس ساخته شدم after حلق را

۴ 2 V has احمال , H احماعست , K A عبادت for اعطیت , 3 R omits آنس ببدا شد و حون آن بعض , A has جنس for جنس , 4 A, H, K, V have مخصص for بعصت , 5 V omits آب و حون ببدا شد , K, R, A have اتحاد for اتحاد , 7 A, H have بسبب بآن , 8 A V, H, K have طاهر for ببدا , 9 H has سرک and A سر for شری , 13 14 all MSS except R omit the verse سما شد یک قطره , 17 V has آب را خاک ازان و بعد for آب را آن و , 18 V has فرو حواهند برد before ساحت , A, H have بروح اعظم for با روح اعظم R has باد را روح اعظم حواهند نوشت , 21 A, V omit the translation of the verse of the *Kur'ān*

٥ 1 H has بوده and K has شود for بود , H, R have می before ماند , R omits تو after پروردگار , 2 all texts, except K, omit کرسه , A, H have ابنای for بنای , 3 K has است after زنده , H omits است after اکاس , R omits آن before ما , 4 H has دانست for بادی حواهد شد , 5 A has است for باشد , R, V omit باشد , R omits چه , 6 V has گویند for نامند , all texts, except V, have زائده for ببدا , 7 V omits فرو , A has این before آنه کرسه , 8 A, H, V have ازان for از , 9 V omits بار , A has فرو برم for حواهم برد and V has و ازان خاک برردم

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for the same, R adds و بار دهاک سپردیم سما را , V omits از آن حاک ,
A has بار before بدرون , 10 A adds حمسه after حواس , 11 H, V
have عنصر for عناصر H adds بیدگانه after عنصر , K omits بنج عناصر ,
V has حواس بنج اند , V omits بربان , 12 R has هندی for هند , A, H,
V omit بربان 13 A has را and K has آنهارا for آن را , 14 V has
ار for ارس , H and R have ار for ارس before عناصر , A has مدملو
before حس , 15 K omits ومنسوب بآن , A has باسد after منسوب بآن ,
A, R have چهارگانه before شامّه , H omits اسب before دهاک R has
حرارکه for حه , 16 R has دس for و after حاک all texts, except K,
have کند , V has احسان for احساس , all texts have مناسب
for منسوب , except K, which has مناسب دارد , 17 H reads
چهارگانه به دائمه طاهر اسب , A has مناسب اسب for مناسب دارد ,
18 R has ادراک for درک , V has رنگ for رنگها , A omits اسب
after بدسم , K omits هر دو and R has درو for هر دو , H has سامعه
for لامسه

6 1 R omits داد اسب ولامسه را بسبب , A has مناسب دارد for منسوب
اسب 2 H has بسبب for که سبب , 4 V omits و موحّدان هند که صوفیه
ادن را 5 A, H, K, V have شعل آوار for سعل داس انعاس , A,
H, K, V omit در اصطلاح خود , V has موحّدان هند for اسان , 6 all MSS
have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses,
8 H K, V have چهرانند کرن , while A has جهرانس کرن 9 A has
درب , K, H have سرب دوکرب , V has سُرب, R has درب for سب دوکرب ,
11 all texts have حاسب or بجانب for طرف , all texts, except V,
have من for آن , 12 V has هردمب for عردمب , H, V, R have بنج
and A has دسی for دسج , 13 R has هرطرف و هرسو , 15 V has
که انسان منگویند عسی اسب , 17 all texts, except R, have کلّی احاطه

7 1 2 A omits translation of the *Kur'ānic* verse, 3 A, H have بس
after all اوسب , 4 H has باشد for باسد , 6 all texts have واللّه ,
7 R has هردو for طهور , 9 H has اولی and R has ارلی for ادنی ,
10 A, H have هذب محسوس , V has و هذاب محسوسه and K has

ماجرای من و معشوق مرا پایان نیست
هرچه آغاز ندارد نپذیرد انجام

و هرچه از خصوصیات ظهور ذات و مقتضیات در روز و شب پیشین شده بی کم و بیش در روز و شب دیگر بعینه عود کند بموجب آیهٔ کریمه كَمَا بَدَأْنَا أَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نُّعِيدُهُ (۱) - یعنی چنانکه ظاهر گردانیدیم در اوّل خلقت موجوداتی را که معدوم گشته بود پس بعد از تمام شدن (این) دورهٔ بار عالم ابوالبشر آدم عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بعینه پیدا شود ولادراك چنین باشد و آیهٔ کریمه كَمَا بَدَأَكُمْ تَعُودُونَ (۲) نیز دلالت برین معنی میکند یعنی چنانکه اوّل شما را پیدا کردم بار همان طور پیدا کنم - اگر کسی شبه کند که خاتمیّت پیغمبر ما صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ازین باطل میشود میگویم که در روز دیگر نیز پیغمبر صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ بعینه موجود خواهد گردید و خاتم پیغمبران آن روز خواهد گردید و این حدیث شب معراج نیز دلالت بر همین معنی میکند - میگویند که پیغمبر صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قطار شترانرا دید که لاینقطع میروند و بر هر یکی دو صندوق بار است و در هر صندوق عالمی است مثل همین عالَم و در هر عالَم مثل خود محمّدی - از جبرئیل پرسید که این چیست - گفت یا رسول الله از وقتیکه آفریده شده ام می بینم که این قطار شتران با صندوق میروند و من هم نمیدانم که این چیست - و این اشاره به بی نهایتی ادوار است *

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَالْمِنَّةُ که بتوفیق اتمام رسالهٔ مجمع البحرین یافته شد در سنه یکهزار و شصت و پنج هجری بنوعی که چهل و دویم از سنین عمر این فقیر بی اندوه محمّد داراشکوه بود - والسّلام *

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۱ : ۱۰۴ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷ : ۲۹ *

VARIANTS

LIST OF MSS REFERRED TO —

1 A MS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, III No 156)

2 H MS in the Āsifiya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan

3 K MS in the Khudā Bakhsh Khān (Oriental Public) Library, Patna

4 R MS in the Rāmpūr State Library, Rāmpūr, U P

5 V MS in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta

(Page numbers refer to the pages of the printed text)

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١ 1 K نامی for نام , 2 A, K add دو before نقطه , R omits نهم 3 K adds ستای before رنمای , R has بی before نظر , 7 R has همه اوست for همه اروست , K omits در همه اوست طاهر و همه اروست , A has در همه اوست , in V the first line of the quatrain is given before در همه اوست and the main text runs thus در همه اوست طاهر، همه اوست , 8 A, H omit باشد after نه

٢ 3 A has حلق for ورق , 6 R, K omit آل کرام , A omits اوتاد and adds سلمو السلما کد را کدرا after عطام , V omits امّا and adds چنین after نمی , 7 K, R add بن شاهجهان پادشاه after دارا شکوه , 8 K, R omit دوانی , 9 H در کسب کند for درک کند , all copies have و محققان اين قوم after هند , K, R have قدم نهاده after قوم , A has اقدام after قوم , 11 all the texts have سنجیدگی after جدانانی , V has صحبت یکجا جمع کرده و صحبت‌ها داشته و گفتگوی نموده , A has داشت و گفتگو نمود , 14 A, H, V, R have مجمع for مجموعه , 16 R has اکابرین قدس سره , all texts, except A, omit هُو before اتصاف 17 A H, K, V omit

۲۱ — بیان روز و شب

الوهیّت ظهور و بطون - بطونِ موحّدانِ هند عمرِ برهما که جبرئیل باشد
و فنای برهماند و تمامیِ روزِ ظهور که روزِ الوهیّت باشد هر یک آنچ سالِ دنیا
ست که هر یکی هزار سالِ دنیا باشد بموجب این دو آیهٔ کریمه وَ إِنَّ يَوْمًا
عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ كَأَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مِمَّا تَعُدُّونَ (۱) یعنی بدرستیکه روزیست نزد پروردگار
تو مانند هزار سال که می شمارند اهل دنیا و آیهٔ کریمه، تَعْرُجُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ
وَ الرُّوحُ إِلَيْهِ فِي يَوْمٍ كَانَ مِقْدَارُهُ خَمْسِينَ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ (۲) یعنی راجع میشوند
بسوی پروردگارِ خود فرشتگان و روح که عبارت از جبرئیل و برهماست در روزیکه
مقدار آن روز پنجاه هزار سال و هر روز ازین پنجاه هزار از هزار سال متعارف
است که در آیهٔ اوّل بآن تصریح شده پس مدّتِ عمرِ جبرئیل و مدّتِ عمرِ
روز و عمرِ تمامیِ عالم که برهماند باشد حساب منجّم هندیه آنچ سال دنیا باشد
و هر یکی هزار سال باشد بی کم و زیاد، مطابقِ حسابِ موحّدانِ هند
و بدانکه خصوصیتِ اعداد هژده نزد انسان منحصر بر هشت ده است
و ازین بالاتر مرتبهٔ شمار قرار نداده اند و قیامت‌های صغری که درین میان
گذشته اند و خواهند گذشت آن قیامتها را کهنده پرلی میگویند مثلِ طوفانِ
آب یا طوفانِ آتش یا طوفانِ باد، و چون این مدّت تمام گردد این روز شام
شود و قیامتِ کبری خواهد شد که آن را مها پرلی گویند بحکم این دو آیات
کریمه يَوْمَ تُبَدَّلُ الْأَرْضُ غَيْرَ الْأَرْضِ (۳) یعنی روزیکه تبدّل کرده شود زمین را

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۲ * ۴۷ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷ * ۴ (۳) قرآن مجید، ۱۴ * ۴۸

بعد رمس و یَوْمَ نَطْوِی السَّمَاءَ کَطَیِّ السِّجِلِّ لِلْکُتُبِ (1) یعنی روزیکه بپیچیم
آسمانرا مانند کاغذ برای کتابت - و بعد از قیامت کبری در شب
بطون که در برابر روز ظهور است و استهلاک جمیع تعینات در حضرت
ذات خواهد شد بعد هژده سال ابج بدیا شب - اوستهاتم که عبارت از سکهوپت
و حدوث است، مثبت این سکهوپت حضرت ذات است که اورا
فراغ است از ایجاد خلق و اعدام عالم و آیهٔ کریمه سَنَفْرُغُ لَکُمْ اَیُّهَ
الثَّقَلٰنِ (2) یعنی زود است که فارغ میشویم از شما ای جن و انس اشاره
باین سکهوپت است، و حضرت ذات در ایام ظهور عالم در مقام ناسوت است
و در قیامتهای صغری در مقام ملکوت و بعد از قیامت کبری در مقام
جبروت *

ای عزیز آنچه درین باب نوشته شده بعد از دقت تمام و تحقیق بسیار
مطابق کشف خود است و این کشف باین دو آیهٔ کریمه مطابق افتاد و با آنکه
تو در هیچ کتابی ندیده و از هیچکس نشنیده اگر بر گوش بعضی از ناقصان
گران آید مارا ازین معنی باکی نیست فَاِنَّ اللّٰهَ غَنِیٌّ عَنِ الْعٰلَمِیْنَ (3) *

۴۲ — بیان بی نهایتی ادوار

نزد محققان اهل هند حق تعالی را نه همین یک شب است و یک
روز بلکه این شب که تمام شود باز روز میشود و روز که آخر شود شب می
آید اِلٰی غَیْرِ النِّهَایَةِ و این را اناد پرواه میگویند - خواجه حافظ علیه الرحمه
اشاره بهمین بی نهایتی ادوار نموده گفته است *

(1) قرآن مجید، ۲۱ ۱۰۴ * (2) قرآن مجید، ۵۵ ۳۱ * (3) قرآن مجید، ۳ ۹۶ *

است هر دو ابروی مها پُرس است، ست لوک که بالای جن لوک است پیشانی مها پُرس است و لوک که بالای همه لوکهاست کاسهٔ سرِ مها پُرس است اثباتِ توحید و کتاب الله امّ الدماغ مها پُرس است ابرهای سیاه که بارانِ مها برکت دارد موی سرِ مها پُرس است، و نباتات همه کوهها موی تنِ مها پُرس است، لچهمی که دولت و خوبی عالم است حُسنِ مها پُرس است، آفتابِ درخشان صفای تنِ مها پُرس است، بهوت اکاس مساماتِ تنِ مها پُرس است، چد اکاس روحِ تنِ مها پُرس است، صورتِ هر فرد انسان خانهٔ مها پُرس است، انسانِ کامل خلوت خانه و محلِّ خاص مها پُرس است، خداتعالی فرمود بداؤد علیه السلام که ای داؤد برای من خانهٔ بساز گفت خداوندا تو منزّهی از خانه، فرمود خانهٔ من تویی دل را از غیر خالی کن - و هرچه درین برهماند بر سبیل تفصیل است در انسان که نسخهٔ عالم کبیر است بطریقِ اجمال همه موجود است، کسیکه چنین داند زیبد اوراست جیون مُکت و در حقِّ اوست آیهٔ کریمه فَرِحِينَ بِمَا آتَاهُمُ اللهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ (۱) یعنی خوشحال اند آن جماعت بآنچه داده است ایشان را خدای تعالی از فضلِ خود *

دوم — سرب مُکت یعنی رستگاری همه و آن استهلاک در ذاتست و آن شاملِ همه موجودات است و بعد از قیامت کبری و فنای آسمان و زمین و بهشت و دوزخ و نبودنِ برهماند و نبودنِ روز و شب از محدودت در ذات رستگار و خلاص باشند و آیهٔ کریمه وَرِضْوَانٌ مِنَ اللهِ أَكْبَرُ ذَلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۳: ۱۶۹ *

اَلْعَظِیْمُ (۱) و اَلَا اِنَّ اَوْلِیَآءَ اللّٰهِ لَا خَوْفٌ عَلَیْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ یَحْزَنُوْنَ (۲) یعنی بدرستیکه عارفان خدا را نیست ترسی و نیستند آنها اندوهگین اشاره بهمین نکته است *

سیوم — سرنرا نکته یعنی رستگاری بس - سرنرا نکته آن باشد که در هر مرتبه که سیرکنند خواه در روز خواه در شب خواه در عالم باطن خواه در عالم ظاهر خواه برهمانند نمانند خواه نمانند و خواه در ماضی خواه حال و خواه در مستقبل که بهوت بهوست بردمان گویند عارف و رستگار و خلاص باشد - و هرجا که در آیات قرآنی در باب بودن در جنت خالدین فیها ابدا واقع شده یعنی همیشه خواهند بود در آن بهشت مراد از جنت معرفت است و مراد از لفظ ابدا ابدیت این نکته است، چه در هر نشاء که باشد استعداد معرفت و عنایات ازلی درکار است، چنانچه این دو آیهٔ کریمه در باب ابدیت جماعت وارد است یُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِّنْهُ وَ رِضْوَانٍ وَّ جَنّٰتٍ لَّهُمْ فِیْهَا نَعِیْمٌ مُّقِیْمٌ خٰلِدِیْنَ فِیْهَآ اَبَدًا اِنَّ اللّٰهَ عِنْدَهٗٓ اَجْرٌ عَظِیْمٌ (۳) - یعنی مژده میدهد ایشان را پروردگار ایشان برحمتی از خود و مژده میدهد بفردوس اعلی و بهشتها که مر ایشان راست در آن بهشتها نعمتهای دائمی و رستگاری بی انقطاع از نزدیک حق تعالی بدرستیکه مرد یست بزرگ و نیز آیهٔ کریمهٔ دیگر و یُبَشِّرُ الْمُؤْمِنِیْنَ الَّذِیْنَ یَعْمَلُوْنَ الصّٰلِحٰتِ اَنَّ لَهُمْ اَجْرًا حَسَنًا مَّاکِثِیْنَ فِیْهِ اَبَدًا (۴) - یعنی مژده بدهند (پیغمبر صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ) مومنانرا که عمل میکنند نیک که حصول معرفت حق سُبْحَانَهٗ تعالی باشد و بدرستیکه مر عارفانرا ست مزدی نیکو که فردوس اعلی باشد و درنگ کنندگان باشند و همیشه مانندگان اندران فردوس اعلی *

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۹ ۷۲ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۱۰ ۶۲ *
(۳) قرآن مجید، ۹ ۲۱ * (۴) قرآن مجید، ۱۸ ۲، ۳ *

وصل است پستانِ راست و بخشش بعد از سؤال که عطاست پستانِ چپ
مها پُرس است ز اعتدال که رجوگن و ستوگن و تموگن باشند و آن را ترگون
گویند دلِ مها پُرس است، و چنانکه کنول سه رنگ دارد، سُفید و سرخ
و بنفش، دل هم که بصورتِ کنول است سه صفت دارد، و این از
سه رنگ ظهور است، که برهما و بشن و مهیش باشند برهما که
من هم نام دارد حرکت و ارادهٔ دلِ مها پُرس است، بشن رحم و مهرِ
مها پُرس است، مهیش قهر و غضبِ مها پُرس است - ماه بتبسم
و خوشحالی مها پُرس است که حرارتِ الم و اندوه را برطرف میسازد ز بت
کمانِ مها پُرس است کوه سُمیر پشت استخوانِ میانِ پشت مها پُرس است
ز کوههای پستِ راست و چپ سر استخوانِ فقرهای بعضی پسلی های
مها پُرس است، و هشت فرشته که کوتوال اند و اندر که سردارِ آنهاست
ز کمال قوّت دارد و بخشیدن و باریدن و نه بخشیدن و نباریدن متعلق باوست
هر دو دستِ مها پُرس اند، دستِ راست بخشش و بارش و دستِ
چپ امساکِ بخششِ مها پُرس است - اپچهرا که حورانِ بهشت اند
خطوطِ کفِ دستِ مها پُرس است و فرشتها که آن را چتهه می نامند
ناخنهای دستِ مها پُرس است سه فرشتهٔ لوک پال دستِ راست
مها پُرس است، (از بند دست تا ارنج اگنی نام فرشته) و جم فرشته بازوی مها پُرس
است و لوکپال فرشته دستِ چپِ مها پُرس است، کُبیر فرشته زانوی
پای مها پُرس است و کلپ برچهه که طوبی باشد عصای مها پُرس است،
قُطبِ جنوبی کتفِ راست و قُطبِ شمالی کتفِ چپِ مها پُرس است

و برن نام فرشتهٔ لوک پال که موکّل آب است و در سمت مغرب همانند مهرهٔ
گردن مها پُرس است، اوما هت که سلطان‌الاذکار است آواز باریک مها پُرس
است - مهر لوک که بالای سرگ لوک است گلو و گردن مها پُرس است
جن لوک که بالای مهر لوک است روی مبارک مها پُرس است، جواهر
عالم ربیع مها پُرس است - طمع که در عالم است لب پایین مها پُرس است
شرم و حیا لب بالای مها پُرس است، سدهه یعنی محبّت و الفت بُن
دندانهای مها پُرس است و خورش همه عالم خوراک مها پُرس است،
عنصر آب کام و دهن مها پُرس است، عنصر آتش زبان مها پُرس است،
سرستی قوّت ناطقهٔ مها پُرس و چار بید یعنی چار کتاب حق و راستی گفتار
مها پُرس است، مایا یعنی عشق که باعث ایجاد عالم است خنده و خوش
طبعی مها پُرس است و هشت جهت عالم هر دو گوش مها پُرس است،
اشونی کمار که دو فرشته در کمال حُسن اند هر دو پرّهٔ بینی مها پُرس اند،
گندهه تن ماتر یعنی عنصر خاک قوّت شامّهٔ مها پُرس است عنصر باد
نفَس زدن مها پُرس است، میان جن لوک و تپ لوک که طبقهٔ پنجم
بهشت است و از نور ذات پر است نصف فوقی آن جسم راست
و نصف سفلی آن جسم چپ مها پُرس است و اصل نور که آن را ادتیا
اُری گویند قوّت بینائی مها پرس است - تمام آفرینش نگاه لطف مها پُرس
است، روز و شب عالم چشم بر هم زدن مها پُرس است مار نام فرشته که
موکّل ترسانی و محبّت است و توشتا نام فرشته که موکّل مهر و عصب

* بیت *

جهان یکسر همه ارواح و همه اجسام * بُود شخصی معیّن عالمش نام

پس حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالی را روح و جانِ این شخصِ معیّن دانند که از هیچ سرِ موی جدا نیست حکایت شیخ سعدالدّین حموی(1) و مایند، * رباعی *

حق جانِ جهان است و جهان جمله بدن

ارواح و ملائک و حواس این همه تن

افلاک و عناصر و موالید و اعضاء

توحید همین است و دگر شیوه و فن

و همچنین موحّدانِ هند مثل بیاس وغیره تمام برهماند را که عالم کبیر است شخصِ واحد دانسته عضوهای بدنِ او را چنین بیان نموده اند بتخصیص آنکه صوفیِ صافی در هر وقت برهرچه نظر کند بداند که بر فلان عضو مها پُرس که ابتدا عبارت از ذات حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالی است نظر داشتم پاتال که طبقهٔ هفتم زمین باشد کفِ پای مها پُرس است؛ رساتل که طبقهٔ ششم زمین باشد پشت پای مها پُرس است؛ و سه ماطین انگشتهای پای مها پُرس اند و جانورانِ سواری سلطان باجهای پای مها پُرس اند - مهاتل که طبقهٔ پنجم زمین است ساق مها پُرس است - تلاتل که طبقهٔ چهارم زمین بُوَد ساقِ مها پُرس است سوتل که طبقهٔ سوم زمین باشد زانوی مها پُرس است - بتل که طبقهٔ دوم زمین است رانِ مها پُرس است اتل که طبقهٔ اوّلِ زمین است عضوِ مخصوص مها پُرس است - کال یعنی زمانه رفتارِ مها پُرس است پرجاپت دیوتا که باعثِ توالد و تناسلِ تمام عالم

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(۱) برای حالات حضرت سعد الدین حموی رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ انگلیسی *

است علامت مردمی و قوت رجولیت مها پُرس است - باران نطفه
مها پُرس است - بهولوک یعنی از زمین تا آسمان پائین ناف مها پُرس
است - سه کوه جنوبی دست راست مها پُرس است و سه کوه شمالی
دست چپ مها پُرس است و شمر پرت شرین مها پُرس است -
روشنی صبح کاذب تار معرق جامهٔ مها پُرس است، روشنی صبح صادق
رنگ سفید جامهٔ چادر مها پُرس است (که اَلْکِبْرِیَاءُ رِدَائِیْ اشاره بآن میکند)
و وقت شام که رنگ سرخ دارد پارچهٔ ستر عورت مها پُرس است (که
اَلْعَظَمَةُ اِزَارِیْ کنایه بآن میکند) سمندر یعنی بحر محیط حلقه و عمق ناف
مها پرس است و بدوانل مکان آتشیست که آب هفت دریا را حالا هم جذب
میکند و طغیان شدن نمیدهد و در قیامت کبری تمام آب را خشک خواهد
کرد و این حرارت و گرمی معدهٔ مها پرس است، و دریاهای دیگر رگهای
مها پُرس است، و چنانکه همه رگها بناف میرسد همه دریاها بسمندر منتهی
میگردد - گنگا و جمنا و سرستی سهرگ مها پُرس است - اِنگلا جمنا
پنگلا جمونا سکهمنا سرستی بهولوک که بالای بهولوک است و دیوتهای
گندهرب آنجا میباشند و آواز از آنجا برمیخیزد شکم مها پُرس است -
آتش قیامت صغری اشتهای حاضری مها پُرس است، و خشک شدن
آنها در قیامت صغری تشنگی (و آب خوردن) مها پُرس است سرگ
لوک که بالای بهولوک است و طبقه ایست از طبقات بهشت سینه
مها پُرس است که همیشه شادی و خوشحالی و آرام دوست - و جمیع
ستارهها از اقسام جواهر مها پُرس است - تحسین بنس از سوال که جود و

ز ذٰلِكَ بَعْدَ مَا تَمَسَّكُوْنَ فِيْهَا أَحْقَابًا يعنى مى آيد بر دوزخ زمانى كه نباشد هيچكس از دوزخيان در آن بعد از آنكه مدّت طويل در ان مانده باشند - و در آوردن اهل بهشت را از بهشت ان باشد كه نيست از بر طرف شدن آسمانها و زمينها اگر خدا خواهد انسان را در فردوس اعلى در آرد كه عطاى او بى نهايت است و نيز ازين آية كريمه ثابت شده وَرِضْوَانٌ مِّنَ اللهِ أَكْبَرُ ذٰلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيْمُ (١) يعنى الله تعالى را بهشتى است بزرگتر از بهشتها كه اهل هند آن را بيكنته گويند و اين بزرگترين رستگاريست بطور موحّدان هند *

١٩ — بيان قيامت

بطور موحّدان هند اينست كه بعد از بودن در دوزخ و بهشت چون مدتهاى طويل بگذرد مها پرلى شود كه عبارت از قيامت كبرى است كه از آية كريمه فَإِذَا جَاءَتِ الطَّامَّةُ الْكُبْرٰى (٢) يعنى زمانيكه بيايد قيامت كبرى مفهوم ميشود ز ازين آية نيز معلوم ميشود وَنُفِخَ فِي الصُّوْرِ فَصَعِقَ مَنْ فِي السَّمٰوٰتِ وَمَنْ فِي الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا مَنْ شَاءَ اللهُ (٣) يعنى زمانيكه دميده ميشود صور پس بيهوش ميشود هركه در آسمانها و زمينها ست مگر شخصى را كه خواسته باشد خداى تعالى از بيهوش شدن نگاه دارد و آن جماعت عارفان باشند كه محفوظ اند از بيهوشى و بيخودى هم در دنيا و هم در آخرت - و بعد از بر طرف شدن آسمانها و زمينها و فانى شدن دوزخها و بهشتها و تمام شدن مدّت عمر برهماند و بودن برهماند اهل بهشت و دوزخ را مُكت خواهد شد، يعنى

(١) قرآن مجيد، ٩ ٧٢ * (٢) قرآن مجيد، ٧٩ ٣٤ *
(٣) ايضاً ٣٩ ٦٨ *

هر دو در حضرت ذات مستهلک و محو شوند - بموجب این آیه كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ ۝ وَيَبْقَىٰ وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ (۱) *

۲۰ — بیان مُکت

مُکت عبارت از استهلاک و محو شدنِ تعیّنات باشد در حضرت ذات که از آیهٔ کریمه وَرِضْوَانٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ أَكْبَرُ ذَٰلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ (۲) ظاهر میشود، و داخل شدن در رضوانِ اکبر که فردوسِ اعلی است رستگاریِ بزرگ است که مُکت باشد و مُکت بر سه قسم است اوّل جیون مُکت یعنی رستگاری در زندگانی و جیون مُکت نزدِ ایشان آنست که در ایّامِ حیاتِ خود بدولت عرفان و شناسائی حق تعالی رستگار و خلاص است و در همین جهان همه چیز را بنیکی بیند و نیکی داند و اعمال و افعال و حرکات و سکنات و نیک و بد را نسبت بخود و غیر نکند و خود را با جمیع اشیای موجوده عینِ حق شناسد و در همه مراتب حق را جلوه‌گر داند و تمام برهماند را که صوفیای کرام این را عالمِ کبری گفته اند و صورتِ کلیّت خداست بمنزلهٔ بدن جسمانی خدا گردانند - عنصر اعظم که مها آکاس باشد بمنزلهٔ سوچهم سریر یعنی بدنِ لطیف خدا، و ذاتِ خدا بمنزلهٔ روح آن بدن، و آن را یک شخصِ معیّن دانسته از ذرّه تا کوه تا عوالم ظاهر و باطن سوای ذاتِ این یگانهٔ بی همتا نبینند و ندانند چنانکه یک انسان که اورا عالم صغیر گفته اند باختلاف عضوهای مختلفهٔ متکثّره یک فرد است و بکثرتِ اعضای ذات او متعدّد نشده است، آن ذاتِ واحد را بکثرتِ تعیّنات متعدّد نشناسند،

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۵۵، ۲۶، ۲۷ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۹، ۷۲ *

زمینی کُوهی را محیط میدانند و نام کوه‌ها این است، اوّل سُمیرو دوم سمویت
سوم همکوت چهارم هِموِن پنجم نکده ششم پارجاتر هفتم کیلاس چنانچه در
آیهٔ کریمه وَالْجِبالَ اَوْتاداً (۱) واقع است یعنی (گردانیدیم) کوه‌ها را
میخهای زمین - و برگرد هر یکی از آن هفت کوه هفت دریا اند که محیط
هر کوه اند و آن را سپت سمندر میگویند و نامهای این هفت دریا این اند
اوّل لون سمندر یعنی دریای شور، دوم اُکهه رس سمندر یعنی دریای آب
نیشکر، سوم سرا سمندر یعنی دریای شراب، چهارم گهرت سمندر یعنی دریای
روغن زرد، پنجم دده سمندر یعنی دریای جغرات، ششم کهیر سمندر یعنی
دریای شیر، هفتم سواد جل یعنی دریای آب زلال و بودن دریا هفت
هفت ازین آیه معلوم میشود وَلَوْ اَنَّ مَا فِی الْاَرْضِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ اَقْلَامٌ وَّالْبَحْرُ
يَمُدُّهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ سَبْعَةُ اَبْحُرٍ مَّا نَفِدَتْ كَلِمٰتُ اللهِ (۲) یعنی بدرستیکه از درختان
که در زمین اند قلمها شود و آن هفت دریاها سیاهی شوند تمام نمیشود
کلماتِ خدا یعنی مقدّراتِ خدا و در هر زمینی و کوهی و دریائی اقسامِ
مخلوقات هستند و زمین و کوه و دریا که فوقِ همه زمینها و کوه‌ها و دریاها
است بطورِ محقّقانِ هند آن‌را سرگ خوانند که بهشت و جنّت باشد و زمین
و دریا که تحتِ همه زمینها و کوه‌ها و دریاها ست آن‌را نرک گویند که عبارت
از دوزخ است و جهنّم - و بتحقیقِ موحّدانِ هند است که بهشت و دوزخ
از همین عالم که آن را برهماند گویند خارج نیست، و این هفت آسمان را که
مَقرِّ این هفت ستاره اند میگویند که بر گردِ بهشت میگردند و بر بالای
بهشت و سقفِ بهشت را بن اکاس میدانند که عرش باشد و زمینِ بهشت
را کرسی *

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۷۸ ۷ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۳۱ ۲۷ *

۱۸ — بیان عالم برزخ

پیغمبر صَلَّی اللّهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ فرموده مَنْ مَاتَ فَقَدْ قَامَتْ قِیَامَتُهُ یعنی هر کسیکه مُرد پس بتحقیق که قایم شد قیامت او و بعد از موت آنچه که رُوح باشد از بدنِ عنصری مفارقت نموده بی تخلّل زمان بدنِ مکتسب که آن را سوخهم سریر گویند در می آید و آن بدنِ لطیف است که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد عمل نیک را صورتِ نیک و عملِ بد را صورتِ بد - و بعد از سوال و جواب بی درنگ و بی توقّف اهل بهشت را به بهشت و اهل دوزخ را بدوزخ میبرند، موافق این آیهٔ کریمه فَاَمَّا الَّذِیْنَ شَقُوْا فَفِی النَّارِ لَهُمْ فِیْهَا زَفِیْرٌ وَّ شَهِیْقٌ خٰلِدِیْنَ فِیْهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمٰوٰتُ وَ الْاَرْضُ اِلَّا مَا شَآءَ رَبُّكَ اِنَّ رَبَّكَ فَعَّالٌ لِّمَا یُرِیْدُ وَ اَمَّا الَّذِیْنَ سُعِدُوْا فَفِی الْجَنَّةِ خٰلِدِیْنَ فِیْهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمٰوٰتُ وَالْاَرْضُ اِلَّا مَا شَآءَ رَبُّكَ عَطَآءً غَیْرَ مَجْذُوْذٍ (۱) یعنی آنانکه بد بخت شده اند در آتش اند مر ایشان را در آتش فریاد و ناله و زاری جاودان باشد در آن آتش تا هنگامیکه آسمانها و زمینها ست مگر آنچه خواهد پروردگار تو - بدرستیکه پروردگارِ تو کننده است هر چیزی را که خواهد و آنانکه نیک بخت در بهشت اند همیشه تا هنگامیکه باشند آسمانها و زمینها مگر تا وقتیکه خواهد پروردگارِ تو که آنها را از آنجا بر آرد و بخششِ او بی نهایت است بر آوردن از دوزخ آن باشد که پیش از برطرف شدنِ آسمانها و زمینها اگر خواهد از دوزخ بر آورده به بهشت برد و ابن مسعود (۲) رَضِیَ اللّهُ عَنْهُ در تفسیر این آیه فرموده که لَیَاْتِیَنَّ عَلٰی جَهَنَّمَ زَمَانٌ لَیْسَ فِیْهَا اَحَدٌ

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۱۱ ۱۰۶، ۱۰۷، ۱۰۸ .

(۲) برای حالات حضرت ابن مسعود رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ انگلیسی .

چون پدر من شیخ محیی الدین عبدالقادر جیلانی و ابو مدین المغربی و شیخ
محیی الدین ابن العربی و شیخ نجم الدین کبری و شیخ فرید الدین عطار
و مولانا جلال الدین رومی - و در زمان دیگر چون خواجه معین الدین چشتی
و خواجه بهاء الدین نقشبند و خواجه احرار و مولانا عبد الرحمن جامی و در
زمان دیگر چون شیخ من حضرت میان شاه میر و استاد من میان باری و مرشد
من ملا شاه و شاه محمد دلربا و شیخ طیب سرهندی و باوا لال بیراگی *

۱۳ — بیان برهماند

مراد از برهماند "کُل" و بقیّد ظهور حضرت وجود است بصورت کُرّهٔ مدوّر و چون اورا بهیچ طرف میل و تعلق نیست و نسبت او با همه برابر است و همه تعینات و نمایش درمیان این است لهذا موحّدان هند این را برهماند گویند *

۱۴ — بیان جهات

موحّدان اسلام هریک از مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و تحت را جهتی اعتبار نموده شش جهت گفته اند ، موحّدان هند جهات را ده میگویند یعنی مابین مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را نیز جهتی اعتبار نموده ده دِشا می نامند *

۱۵ — بیان آسمانها

آسمانها که آن را گگن میگویند بطور اهل هند هشت است، هفت ازان مقرّ هفت کواکب سیّاره است که زحل و مشتری و مریخ و شمس و زهره و عطارد

و قمر باشند و بزبان اهل هند این هفت ستاره را هفت سپت گره یعنی سد
و برسپت و منگل و سورج و سنیچر و بده و چندرماس میگویند - و آسمانی
جمیع ثوابت در آن اند آن را هشتم میدانند و همین آسمان را حکما فلکِ ه
و فلکِ ثوابت میگویند که بزبانِ اهل شرع کُرسی است وَسِعَ کُرْ
السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضَ (۱) یعنی آسمانها و زمینها در کُرسی میگنجند و نهم که آر
مها اکاس میگویند داخلِ آسمانها نکرده اند جهت آنکه آن محیطِ همه اس
و کُرسی و آسمانها و زمینها را احاطه کرده است *

۱۶ — بیان زمین

زمین نزدِ اهل هند هفت طبقه است که آن را سپت تال میگو
و هر طبقه این یک نام دارد، اتل بتل سوتل تلاتل مهاتل رساتل و پاتال
بطور اهل اسلام نیز زمین هفت است بموجب آیهٔ کریمه اَللّٰهُ الَّذِیْ خَ
سَبْعَ سَمٰوٰتٍ وَّ مِنَ الْاَرْضِ مِثْلَهُنَّ (۲) یعنی الله تعالیٰ آن خدائیست که خ
گردانید هفت آسمانها را و از زمین هم مانند آن آسمانها *

۱۷ — بیان قسمت زمین

رُبع مسکون را حُکما بهفت طبقه قسمت کرده اند و هفت اقلیم میگو
و اهل هند آن را سپت دیپ می نامند و این هفت طبقهٔ زمین را بررو
زمین هم مثلِ پوست پیاز نمیدانند بلکه بمراتب مثلِ پایه های نردبان ید
میدانند - و هفت کوه را که اهل هند آنها را سپت کلاچل گویند بر گردِ

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲ ۲۵۵ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۶۵ ۱۲ +

خواه آواز مرکّب از حروفِ کلمه دیگر آنکه فرشته را دیده باشند یا آواز فرشته را شنیده باشند - و نبوّت و ولایت بر سه قسم است، یکی نبوّت و ولایتِ تنزیهی، دوم نبوّت و ولایت تشبیهی، سوم نبوّت و ولایتِ جامع التشبیه والتنزیه - اوّل نبوّت تنزیهی، چون نبوّتِ حضرت نوح علیه السلام که خدا را بتنزیه دید و دعوت کرد و اُمّت بسببِ تنزیه ایمان نیاوردند مگر قلیلی و همه در بحرِ فنا غرق شدند چون زاهدانِ زمانِ ما که بتنزیه خدا مریدانرا خوانند و هیچکس ازان مرید دان عارف نشود و از قولِ آنها نفعی نبرد و بر راهِ سلوک و طریقت فنا و هلاک گردد و بخدا نرسد -

دوم نبوّت تشبیهی چون نبوّت موسیٰ است علیه السلام که خود خدا را در آتشِ درخت دید و از درختِ حق شنید و اکثرِ اُمّت از تقلیدِ موسیٰ در تشبیه افتاده گوساله‌پرست شدند و عصیان ورزیدند و امروز بعضی از مقلّدانِ زمانِ ما آنانکه محض تقلیدِ کاملان پیشه کرده اند و برین زندگانی کنند از تنزیه دور افتاده در تشبیه فرو مانند و بدیدنِ صورتهای خوب و مرغوب در لهو و لعب گرفتار اند و پیروی ایشان نشاید * نظم *

هر صورتِ دلکش که ترا روی نمود
خواهد فلک از چشم تواش زود ربود
رَو دل بکسی ده که در اطوارِ وجود
بود است و همیشه با تو خواهد بود

سوم نبوّت جامع التنزیه و التشبیه، یعنی جمع کنندهٔ تنزیه و تشبیه و آن نبوّتِ محمّدیست صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمْ که مطلق و مقیّد رنگ و بیرنگ و نزدیک و دور را یکجا کرده، و اشاره بدین مزیّه است درین آیهٔ کریمه

که لَیسَ کَمِثلِهِ شَیءٌ وَهُوَ السَّمِیعُ البَصِیرُ (۱) یعنی نیست مثل او چیزی
و این اشاره بمرتبهٔ تنزیه است و شنوای و بینای اشاره به تشبیه بُوَد و این
مرتبه بلند ترین و اعلی ترین مرتبهٔ جامعیّت و خاتمیت است که مخصوص
بذاتِ آنسرور صلعم است، پس رسولِ ما همه عالم را از شرق تا غرب فرو گرفته
و نبوّت تنزیهی محروم است از نبوّت تشبیهی و نبوّت تشبیهی عاری است از
نبوّت تنزیهی، و نبوّتِ جامع شاملِ تنزیه و تشبیه است چون هُوَ الأَوَّلُ
وَالآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالبَاطِنُ (۲) - همچنین ولایت مخصوص است بکاملانِ این
اُمّت که حق‌تعالی در وصف ایشان فرموده کُنتُم خَیرَ اُمَّةٍ اُخرِجَت
لِلنَّاسِ (۳) یعنی بهترین اُمّتان ایشانند که جمع کنندهٔ تشبیه و تنزیه اند
چنانچه در زمانِ پیغمبر ما صَلَّی اللّهُ عَلَیهِ وَسَلَّمَ از اولیا (۴) ابوبکر و عمر و عثمان
و علی و حسن و حسین و بقیّهٔ ائمه و عشرهٔ مبشّره و اکابر مهاجر و انصار و اهل
صُفّه بودند و از آنجمله در تابعین چون اُویس قرنی وغیره و در زمانِ دیگر
چون ذوالنّون مصری و فُضیل عیاض و معروف کرخی و ابراهیم ادهم و بشر
حافی و سری السقطی و بایزید بسطامی و استاد ابوالقاسم جنیدی و سهل
بن عبد اللّه التستری و ابو سعید خرّاز و رُویم و ابو الحسین النوری و ابراهیم
خواص، و ابوبکر شبلی و ابوبکر واسطی و امثالِ ایشان - و در زمانِ دیگر چون
ابو سعید ابوالخیر و شیخ الاسلام خواجه عبدالله انصاری و شیخ احمد جام
و محمد معشوق طوسی و احمد غزالی و ابوالقاسم گُرگانی - و در زمانِ دیگر

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۴۲ ۱۱ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۷ ۳ ٭
(۳) قرآن مجید، ۳ ۱۰۹ ٭
(۴) برای ترجمهٔ احوال این اولیای کامل رجوع کنند به ترجمهٔ انگلیسی ٭

نخست است - دیدن خدای تعالی پنج قسم است - قسم اوّل، در خواب بچشم دل، دوم دیدن در بیداری بچشم سر، سوم، درمیانِ بیداری و خواب که آن بیخودیِ خاص است، چهارم در یک تعیّنِ خاص، پنجم دیدن یک ذاتِ واحد است در کثراتِ تعدّداتِ عوالمِ ظاهر و باطن، و این چنین دید حضرتِ رسول صلّعم در وقتیکه خود بخود درمیان و رائی و مرئی یکی بود، و خواب و بیداری و بیخودیِ او یکی می بود و چشم ظاهر و باطن او یکی شده بود، مرتبهٔ کمال رویت اینست و این را ابتدا و آخرت درکار نیست و همه جا و همه وقت میسّر است (1) *

۱۱ — بیانِ اسمای الله تعالی

بدانکه اسمای الله تعالی بی نهایت است و از حدِّ حصر بیرون - ذاتِ مطلق و بحت و صرف و غیب‌الغیب و حضرتِ واجب‌الوجود را دریایِ

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(1) داراشکوه در سکینة الاولیا (از صفحه ٦ تا صفحه ٦٦) مسئلهٔ رویت را بالتفصیل در بحث آورده، و اسناد بسیاری باثباتِ ادعای خودش درج کرده که نقل همهٔ آنها باعثِ تطویل شود، پس برهمین اختصار اکتفا نموده شد-

یکی از اصحابِ کبار نیز گفته که روزی حضرت میان جیو را پرسیدم که در نهایهٔ جزری، مذکور است روزی ابن شقیق به ابا ذر غفّاری گفت که اگر رسول الله را دیدمی ازو پرسیدمی که خدا را دیدی یا نه، ابا ذر غفّاری گفت که من از آنحضرت صلّعم پرسیدم گفت نُورٌ اَنّیٰ اَرَاهُ یعنی از نور است هیچگونه ممکن نیست که او را بینم، نوشته نماند که در عبارتِ بالا تجنیس خطّی واقع شده یعنی "نُورَانِیٌّ اَرَاهُ"، یعنی نوریست که می بینم او را-

حضرت میان جیو بداراشکوه فرمود که اگر معنیٔ اوّل گیریم اشاره بوجود صرفِ ذاتِ حق باشد و جنس رویت برای انبیا هم محال باشد، لاکن اگر معنیٔ دوم را اختیار کنیم مراد این باشد که رویت او در وقت نزولّ پردهٔ نقاب، و لباس نوری ممکن است

معرای هند اس و برگی و برنکار و بربحس و ست و جب گویند - اگر علم را باو
نسبت دهند که اهلِ اسلام اورا علم میگویند معرای هند آن را
جان نامند و اسم الحق را اننت گویند، مادر را سمرتهه، و سمسع را
سربا و بصر را درسٹا خوانند، و اگر کلام را بآن ذات مطلق نسبت دهند
وَکتا نامند و الله را اُوم و هو را سَهٗ و فرسته را دیبان ادسان ددونا گویند،
و مظهر اتم را اَوتار نامند، و اَوتار آن باشد که قدرت الٰهی آنچه درو ظاهر
سود و از وجودِ او بنظر آید در هیچ یکی از افراد نوع او در آن وقت ظاهر
نشود، و وحی را که بر پیغمبر نازل شود اکاس بانی نامند و اکاس بانی
نصیب آن گویند که پیغمبر صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمْ فرموده که صعب ترین
اوقات نزول وقتِ وحی است که میشنوم وحی را مانند آواز جرس یا مانند
آواز زنبور، وچون این آواز از اکاس ظاهر میشود اکاس بانی میگویند - و کتبِ
آسمانی را بید گویند، و خوبان جنّتان را که پری باشند انچهرا گویند و
ندانِ آنها را که دیو و شیاطین اند راجهس گویند و آدمی را مَنُکهه، ولی
را رکهی و نبی را مها سُدہ نامند *

۱۲ — ببیان نبوّت و ولایت

انبیا بر سه قسم اند، یکی آنکه خدا را بدیده باشند بچشم، خواه بچشم
ظاهر خواه بچشم باطن دیگر آنکه آواز خدا شنیده باشند خواه آواز صرف،

و شاهزاده موصوف خیالاتِ خودش را در باب مسئلهٔ رویت بوصاحت تمام درین رباعی
بیان نموده (سکینة الاولیا صفحه ۶۱) +

آنانکه خدا در آن زمان می بینند + اوّل تو بیان درین جهان می بینند
دیدارِ خدا درین و آن یکسانست + هر لحظه بظاهر و نهان می بینند

۱۰ — بیان رویت

رویت خدای تعالی را موحّدان هند ساچهات کار گویند یعنی دیدنِ
خدا بچشم سر - بدانکه در دیدنِ خدای تعالی در دنیا و آخرت بچشم
ظاهر و باطن هیچ یکی از انبیاء علیه‌السلام و اولیای کامل قُدِّسَ اللهُ
سِرُّهُ شکّی و شبهی نیست و جمیع اهل کتاب و کاملان و بیدانیان هر
ملّت باین معنی ایمان دارند، چه اهل قرآن و چه اهل بید و چه اهل
توریت و انجیل و زبور - و از نافهمیدگان و نابیدانانِ ملّتِ خود بود هر
که انکار رویت نماید، چه ذاتِ مقدّسی که بر همه چیز قادر باشد بر نمودنِ
خود هم چرا قدرت نداشته باشد و این مسئله را علمای سنّت و الجماعت
خوب بی پرده گفته اند - امّا اگر ذات بحت را گفته اند که توان دید این
محال است چه ذات بحت لطیف و بی تعیّن است و متعیّن نگردد و در
پردهٔ لطافت جلوه‌گر شود پس نتوان دید و چنین رویت محال باشد -
و آنچه گفته اند که در آخرت توان دید و در دنیا نتوان دید اصلی ندارد
زیرا که هرگاه کمال قدرت درو هست هر طور و هر جا و هر گاه که خواهد قادر بر
نمودنِ خود است و هرکه اینجا ندید مشکل است که تواند در آنجا دید،
چنانچه خود در آیهٔ کریمه فرموده وَمَنْ كَانَ فِیْ هٰذِهٖ أَعْمٰی فَهُوَ فِی الْآخِرَةِ
أَعْمٰى (۱)، یعنی هر که درین دنیا از دولت دیدار من محروم است در
آخرت نیز محروم خواهد ماند از نعمتِ جمالِ من و منکرانِ رویت که
حکمای معتزله و شیعه باشند درین مسئله خطای عظیم کرده اند، چرا که اگر
میگفتند که دیدن ذاتِ بحت ممکن نیست بهر حال صورتی داشت و چون

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۱۷ ۷۲

اینان جمیع اقسام رؤیت را منکر شده اند این نهایت خطاست زیرا که
اکثری از انبیای مرسل و اولیای اکمل خدا را بجسم ظاهر دیده و کلام با احترام او
را بیواسطه شنیده اند و هرگاه که اینان شنیدنِ کلامِ حق را از همه جهت قایل
اند چرا دیدن را هم از همه جهت قایل نباشند - اللّه داند - و چنانکه ایمان
بخدا و ملائکه و کتابها و انبیاء و قیامت و قضا و قدر و خیر و شر و جانهای
مبترّک وغیره فرض است ایمان برؤیت هم فرض و لازم است - و اختلافی که
از دانندگانِ علمای سنّت والجماعت کرده اند در معنی و لفظ این
حدیث که عائشه صدّیقه پرسید از حضرتِ رسول صلعم که هل رأیت ربک
یعنی آیا دیدی تو پروردگارِ خود را - فرمود نُورٌ اِنّیٓ أَرَاهُ یعنی نوریست که
می بینم اورا آنها این حدیث را نُورٌ اَنّیٰ أَرَاهُ خوانده اند، یعنی نوریست
چگونه بینم اورا لاکن این دلیلِ با دیدنِ پیغمبر صَلَّی اللّهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ نمیشود،
اگر معنیِ اول گیریم اشاره برؤیتِ تامِ اوست در پردهٔ نور، و اگر چنین خوانده
شود که نوریست چگونه بینم اورا اشاره بذاتِ بحت و بیرنگ است - این
اختلافِ عبارتی نیست بلکه اعجازِ نبویست که در یک حدیث دو مسئله
بیان توان کرد - و آیهٔ کریمه وُجُوهٌ یَّوْمَئِذٍ نَّاضِرَةٌ اِلٰی رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٌ (۱) یعنی
دران روزیکه روها پر و تازه خواهند بود و بینندهٔ بسوی پروردگار خود بُرهانی
ظاهر است بر رؤیتِ پروردگار جَلَّ شَانُهٗ و آیهٔ کریمه لَا تُدْرِکُهُ الْاَبْصَارُ وَ هُوَ
یُدْرِکُ الْاَبْصَارَ وَ هُوَ اللَّطِیْفُ الْخَبِیْرُ (۲) اشاره به بیرنگیست یعنی نمی بینند
بصرها در مرتبهٔ اطلاق و بیرنگی و اُو همه را می بیند و اُو در نهایتِ لطافت
و بیرنگیست، و درین آیهٔ کریمه اسم "هو" که واقع شده اشاره به نادیدنِ ذات

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۷۵ ۲۲، (۲) قرآن مجید، ۶، ۱۰۳

اندوست فکر کن که چه گدام که جای فراست و فکراست و رسولِ خدا صَلَّی اللّٰهُ
عَلَیْهِ وَسَلَّمْ در تعریفِ این فکر فرموده تفکر ساعةٍ خیرٌ مِن عبادة سنة،
یعنی این فکریست که ساعتی درین فکر بودن بهتر از عمل آدمی و پرست
و نوریکه از آیه کریمه اَللّٰهُ نُورُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ، یعنی اللّٰه تعالی نور آسمانها
و زمینها است مفهوم میگردد آن را فقرای هند جون سروپ و سوا ترکاس
و سپن ترکاس گویند، یعنی این نور همیشه خود بخود روشن است خواه در
عالم نماند خواه نماند چنانچه صوفیه نور را بمنوّر تفسیر میکنند و ایشان
(اهل هند) نیز بمنوّر تعبیر کرده اند - و ترجمۀ این آیۀ کریمه که اَللّٰهُ نُورُ
السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ چنین است که اللّٰه تعالی نور آسمانها و زمینها ست،
(مَثَلُ نُوْرِهٖ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيْهَا مِصْبَاحٌ) و مَثَلِ نورِ او مانند طاقچه است که دران
مصباح باشد، (اَلْمِصْبَاحُ فِيْ زُجَاجَةٍ) و آن چراغ در شیشه بود، (اَلزُّجَاجَةُ
كَاَنَّهَا كَوْكَبٌ دُرِّيٌّ) و شیشه گویا که ستارۀ درخشنده است که، (يُوْقَدُ مِنْ
شَجَرَةٍ مُّبٰرَكَةٍ زَيْتُوْنَةٍ لَّا شَرْقِيَّةٍ وَّلَا غَرْبِيَّةٍ) افروخته شده است از درختِ مبارک
زیتون که نه شرقی است و نه غربی، و (يَّكَادُ زَيْتُهَا يُضِيْٓءُ وَلَوْ لَمْ تَمْسَسْهُ نَارٌ)
نزدیک است که روغنِ آن زیتونِ مبارک روشنی بخشد تا آنکه آتش باو
نرسیده باشد و (نُورٌ عَلٰى نُوْرٍ) نوریست بر نور، (يَهْدِى اللّٰهُ لِنُوْرِهٖ
مَنْ يَّشَآءُ (۱)) و راه مینماید اللّٰه تعالی بنورِ خود هرکرا که میخواهد-
امّا آنچه که فقیر فهمیده این باشد که مراد از مشکوة که طاق باشد عالم
اجسام است و مراد از مصباح که چراغ باشد نورِ ذات است و مراد

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۴: ۳۵ *

از شیشهٔ روح است که مانند ستارهٔ درخشنده است که از روشنی
آن چراغ این شیشه هم مانندِ چراغ می نماید، و "افروخته شده است
آن چراغ" عبارت از نورِ وجود است و از "شجرهٔ مبارک" ذاتِ حق سُبْحَانَهُ
تَعَالَی مراد است که منزّه است از جهاتِ شرقی و غربی و مراد
از "زیت" روح اعظم است که نه ازلی و نه ابدی است، یعنی آن زیت
از غایتِ لطافت و صفا خودبخود روشن و تابان است و محتاج بافروختن
نیست، چنانچه استاد ابوبکر واسطی (١) عَلَیْهِ الرَّحْمَة در تعریفِ روح میفرمایند که
زجاجهٔ روح بمرتبهٔ روشن است که محتاجِ لمس نار ناسوت و شعاع نیست
و از غایتِ استعدادِ ذاتی نزدیک است که خود بخود روشن شود و این
نورِ زیت "نورٌ علی نور" است یعنی از نهایتِ صفا و روشنی نوریست
بر نور، و باین روشنائی نمی بیند کسی اُو را تا او خود هدایت نکند بنور وحدت
خود پس مراد از مجموعهٔ این آیهٔ کریمه آنست که حق سُبْحَانَهُ تعالی
نورِ ذاتِ خود در پرده های لطیف و نورانی ظاهر است و هیچ ظلمانی
و حجابی درمیان نیست و نورِ ذات در پردهٔ روح‌الارواح ظاهر است و روح
الارواح در پردهٔ ارواح و ارواح در پردهٔ اجسام همچنین "چراغ" بآن
نورِ زیت در پردهٔ شیشه تابان و ظاهر است و "شیشه" در پردهٔ طاقچه
و اینها اکتسابِ نور از نور ذات میکنند لهذا روشنی در روشنی افروده *

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(١) محمّد بن موسی المعروف به ابوبکر الواسطی از اصحاب حضرت جنید و حضرت
ابوالحسن نوری بودند، ولادتشان قبل از عشرین و ثلثمائه در شهر مرو بوقوع آمد-
شیخ الاسلام می فرمایند که ایشان امام توحید بودند - برای تفصیل رجوع کنند به نفحات
الانس صفحه ١٧١ و تذکرة الاولیا (مرتّبه ڈاکٹر نکلسن) صفحه ٢٦٥ تا صفحه ٢٨١ *

تصوّف آن بود که ساعتی بنشینی بی تیمار - (۱) شیخ الاسلام گفت که بی تیمار چه بود - فرمود که یافت بی جستن و دیدار بی نگریستن، چه نتیجهٔ دیدار علّت است، پس ساعتی بی تیمار نشستن همین است که نقوش عالم ناسوت و ملکوت در آن ساعت بخاطر نگذرند و در آیهٔ مولانای روم قدّس الله سرّهٔ فرموده اشاره بهمین معنی است —

خواهی که بیابی یک لحظه مجویش
خواهی که بدانی یک لحظه مدانش
چون در نهانش جوئی دوری ز آشکارش
چون آشکار جوئی محجوبی از نهانش
چون ز آشکار و پنهان بیرون شوی بترهان
پاها دراز میکن خوش خسپ در امانش

و ترتیبا موافق است بلاهوت که ذاتِ محض باشد و مُحیط و شامل و جامع و عین این هر سه عالم اگر سیرِ انسان از ناسوت بملکوت و از ملکوت بجبروت و از جبروت بلاهوت باشد این ترقّی اوست و اگر حضرتِ حقیقت الحقائق که موحّدان هند آن را اَوَسْتْ گویند

مشهود که داراشکوه این قولِ حضرت جنید را خیلی دوست میداشت چه او در سه از تصنیفات خویش، یعنی رسالهٔ حق نما (صفحه ۲۱ نسخهٔ مطبوعهٔ نولکشور) حسنات العارفین (ورق ۸ ب، نسخهٔ قلمی موجودهٔ بوهار لائبریری) و سکینة الاولیا (صفحه ۱۴۶ ترجمهٔ اردو، مطبوعهٔ لاهور) درج نموده +

(۱) مراد از شیخ الاسلام، ابو اسمعیل عبد الله بن محمّد الانصاری الهرویست که بتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنهٔ ۳۹۶ هـ (مطابق سنهٔ ۱۰۰۶ ع) پیدا شدند، ایشان مؤلّفِ چند رسائل اند، لاکن شهرت ایشان بیشتر بر مناجات است که خیلی مقبول است - و ایشان در مجامع تذکیر و موعظت بر طریقت و علم و حال و سلوکِ صوفیای کرام املا می فرمودند

از مرتبهٔ لاهوت نزول فرماید و از جَبَرُوت و مَلَکُوت بگذرد سیرِ او منتهی بعالم
ناسُوت میشود، و اینکه صوفیه مراتب نزول را بعضی چهار بعضی پنج
قرار داده اند اشاره بدین معنی است *

۸ — بیان آواز

آواز از همان نفس الرحمٰن است که بوقت ایجاد بلفظِ "کُن" ظاهر
شد، (۱) آن آواز را فقرای هند سرستی گویند، و جمیع آوازها و صَوتها و صداها
ازان آواز پیدا گشته، * بیت *

هر کجا بشنوی چو نغمهٔ اوست
که شنید این چنین صدای دراز

و این آواز که یاد باشد نزد موحّدان هند بر سه قسم است، اوّل اناهت
یعنی آوازیکه همیشه بود و هست و خواهد بود و صوفیه این آواز را آوازِ مُطلق
و سلطان الاذکار گویند که قدیم است و احساس مها اکابر ازین است، و این
آواز را در نیابند مگر اکابرِ آگاهِ هر دو قوم - دوم آهت یعنی آوازیکه از زدنِ

که آن را در قند کتاب آورده "طبقات عبد الله انصاری" نامیدند، و نسخهٔ خطی آن که
ربس نادرالوجود است در کتاب خانهٔ ایشیاتک سوسائتی بنگاله موجود است (رجوع کنند
به فهرست مخطوطات فارسی کتب خانهٔ ایشیاتک سوسائتی، صفحه ۷۸ تا صفحه ۸۳) -
مولانا جامی کتاب نفحات الانس را (چنانکه خود در دیباچه می نگارد) بدستور
از طبقات شیخ الاسلام اخذ کرده - وفات شیخ الاسلام در سنه ۴۸۱ هـ (مطابق
سنه ۱۰۸۸ ع) واقع شده *

(۱) این عالم بمحض ارادهٔ حق تعالی که بلفظ "کُن" ظاهر شد بوجود آمد؛
چنانکه حق تعالی میگوید بَدِیعُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ الْاَرْضِ وَ اِذَا قَضٰی اَمْرًا فَاِنَّمَا یَقُوْلُ لَهٗ کُنْ
فَیَکُوْنُ (قرآن مجید، ۲: ۱۱۷) *

که برهما و بشن و مهیش باشند و ازین بردیوی این سه چیز برآمد که آن را سرستی پاربتی و لچهمی میگویند، سرستی به رجوگن و برهما تعلق دارد، و پاربتی به تموگن و مهیش، و لچهمی به ست گن و بشن *

٥ — بیان روح

روح دو قسم است، یکی روح و دیگر ابوالارواح که بزبان فقرای هند این دو روح را آتما و پرم آتما گویند. (چون) ذات بحت متعیّن و مقیّد گردد خواه بلطافت و چه بکثافت بجهت مجرّد بودن در مرتبهٔ لطافت اورا روح و آتما گویند و در مرتبهٔ کثافت جسد و سریر گویند و ذاتی که متعیّن باول گشت روح اعظم باشد که با ذات مجمع الصّفات مرتبهٔ احدیّت دارد و ذاتی که جمیع ارواح در آن مندرج اند آن را پرم آتما و ابوالارواح گویند. مثل آب و موج آب بمنزلهٔ بدن و روح و سریر و آتما است، و مجموعهٔ امواج از روی کلیّت بابوالارواح و پرم آتما ماند و آب صرف بمنزلهٔ حضرت وجود و شدّه و چیتن است *

٦ — بیان بادها

بادی که در بدن انسان حرکت میکند چون در پنج موضع میباشد پنج نام دارد، پران، اپان، سمان، اودان و ویان. پران[1] حرکت آن از بینی است تا بانگشت پا، و دم زدن خاصیت این باد است. اپان[2]، حرکت این از نشستگاه است تا به عضو مخصوص و این باد گرد ناف هم حلقه زده است

و باعث جذاب همان است سمان[3] در سینه و یاف حرکت میکند - اوداں[4]، حرکت این از حلق است تا أم الدّماغ و وتاں[5] که ظاهر و باطن این باد در است *

۷ — بیان عوالم اربعه

عوالم که جمیع مخلوقات را ناچار گذر بر آنست بطور بعضی از صوفیه چهار اند، ناسوت و ملکوت و جبروت ولاهوت و بعضی پنج میگویند و عالم مثال را داخل میکنند، و جمعی که عالم مثال را با عالم ملکوت یکی می انگارند چهار میگویند، و بقول فقرای هند اوپنهات که عبارت ازین عوالم اربعه باشد چهار اند، جاگرت و سپن و سکهوپت و تریا - جاگرت مناسب است بناسوت که عالم ظاهر و عالم بیداری باشد، سپن موافق است بملکوت که عالم ارواح و عالم خواب باشد، سکهوپت موافق است بجبروت که در آن نقوش هر دو عالم و تمیز "من" و "تو" نباشد خواه چشم وا کرده بینی خواه پوشیده، و بسیاری از فقرای هر دو قوم برین عالم مطّلع نشدند، چنانچه شیخ الطایفه استاد ابوالقاسم جنید بغدادی (۱) قدّس الله سرّه خبر داده که فرموده

(۱) ابوالقاسم بن محمّد بن الجنید الخزّاز القواریری که از صوفیان بزرگ بغداد بودند برادر زادهٔ سری السقطی و شاگرد امام شافعی رح بودند، و در بغداد در سنه ۲۹۷ ﻫ (مطابق سنه ۹۱۰ ع) فوت شدند، برای تفصیل رجوع کنید به نفحات الانس صفحه ۸۱ و تذکرة الاولیا (مرتبّهٔ ڈاکٹر نکلسن) جلد دوم صفحه ۵ تا ۳۶ *

قول بالا که بنام حضرت جنید رح منقول است، بر صفحه ۸۲ نفحات الانس مع تشریح شیخ الاسلام موجود است و اغلب این که داراشکوه آن را از نفحات نقل نموده و معلوم

ظهور اوّل او حقیقت محمّدی و ثانی آو روح القدس که جبرئیل امین باشد است) این همه تقیّدات را از خود پیدا کرده و خود را بآن بسته گردانیده (۱)۔ چنانکه کرم پیله تارهای ابریشم از لعاب خود بر آورده خود را در آن بسته است همچنان حضرت واجب الوجود این همه قیود وهمی را از خود بر آورده و خود را درو در آورده است مثل تخم درخت که درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت در می آید و در تعدد شاخها و برگها و گلها متسوّر۔ پس بدان و هوش دار که پیش از ظهور این عالم در ذات پنهان بود و الحال ذات مقدّس او در عالم پنهان است *

۳ — بیان شغل

شغل نزد موحّدان هند اگرچه اقسام است امّا بهترین شغلها اَجَپا را میدانند و آن شغلیست که چه در خواب و چه در بیداری بی قصد و بی اختیار از جمیع ذی نفوس همیشه و هر آن صادر میگردد چنانچه در آیۀ کریمه « وَاِنْ مِنْ شَیْءٍ اِلَّا یُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِهٖ وَ لٰکِنْ لَا تَفْقَهُوْنَ تَسْبِیْحَهُمْ » (۲) اشارة بهمین است و آن درون رفتن و برون آمدن دم را بدو لفظ تعبیر کرده اند، نَفَسی که بالا میرود "آو" میگویند و نَفَسی که درون می آید "من" می نامند یعنی "آو منم" و صوفیه مسعولی این دو لفظ را "هو الله" میدانند که در بالا رفتن نفس "هو" و در برون آمدن "الله" ظاهر میشود، و این دو لفظ از هر ذی حیات جاریست و آو بیخبر است *

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(۱) مولانا محمود شبستری در "گلشن راز" می فرماید —

به آخر واجب آمد جزو هستی \ که هستی کرد اورا زیر دستی

(۲) قران مجید، ۱۷ ۴۴ *

۴ — بیان صفات الله تعالی

نزد صوفیه دو صفت است، جمال و جلال که جمیع آفرینش از تحت این دو صفت بیرون نیست و نزد فقرای هند سه صفات اند که آن را ترگن می‌گویند، ست و رج و تم ست یعنی ایجاد، و رج یعنی ابقا و تم یعنی افنا و صوفیه صفت ابقا را در ضمن صفت جمال دیده و اعتبار کرده اند چون هر یکی ازین سه صفت در یکدیگر مندرج اند فقرای هند این سه صفت را ترمورت نامند که برهما و بشن و مهیش باشند و در زبان صوفیه جبرئیل و میکائیل و اسرافیل گویند برهما موکّل ایجاد است که جبرئیل باشد و بشن موکّل ابقاست که میکائیل باشد و مهیش موکّل افناست که اسرافیل باشد - و آب و باد و آتش نیز منسوب باین موکّلانند، آب بجبرئیل و آتش بمیکائیل و باد باسرافیل و این سه چیز در جمیع جانداران نیز ظاهر است، برهما که آب باشد در زبان، مظهر کلام الٰهی گشت و نطق ازین ظاهر شد، و بشن که آتش است در چشم، روشنی و نور و بینائی ازو ظاهر شد و مهیش که باد است در بینی، دو نفخهٔ صور ازین ظاهر شد که دو نفس باشد و چون آن منقطع گردد فانی شود *

ترگن سه صفت حق باشد که ایجاد و ابقا و افناست و مظهر این سه صفت هم برهما و بشن و مهیش اند که صفات آنها در جمیع مخلوقات ظاهر اند، اوّل متکوّن پیدا شدن، باز دیگر موجود ماندن و باز فانی شدن، و سکت که قدرت این سه صفت است آن را تِردیوی گویند، و ازان تِرمورت

است نهان چرا که سببِ احساسِ ملموسات باد است و سامعه منسوب
است بعنصرِ اعظم که مهاآکاس باشد که سببِ ادراکِ اصوات است - و از
راهِ سمع حقیقتِ مهاآکاس در اهلِ دل ظاهر میشود و دیگری بر آن مطّلع
نیست - و این شغلیست مشترک درمیانِ صوفیه و موحّدانِ هند که صوفیه این را
شغلِ پاسِ انفاس (1) میگویند و ایشان در اصطلاحِ خود دُهن می نامند
امّا حواسِ باطن نیز پنج اند، حسِ مشترک متخیّله متفکّره حافظه و واهمه
و نزدِ اهلِ هند چهار اند بُدهه و مَنّ و اَهَنْکار و چِت و مجموعهٔ این چهار
را انتهکرن گویند که بمنزلهٔ پنجمِ آنها است - چت یک عادت دارد که آن را
سَنْ پرکرت گویند و این عادت بمنزلهٔ پای اوست که اگر آن منقطع شود
چت از دویدن باز ماند اوّل بُدّه یعنی عقل، و بُده آنست که طرفِ خیر
رود و طرفِ شر نرود، دویم مَنّ که عبارت از دل است و آن دو قوّت دارد
سنکلپ بکلپ یعنی عزیمت و فسخ، سیوم چِت که پیکِ دل است و کارِ او
دویدن باشد بهر سو و تمیز میان خیر و شر نکند، چهارم اَهنکار یعنی نسبت
دهندهٔ چیزها بخود، و اهنکار صفتِ پرم آتما است بسببِ مایا، و مایا
بزبانِ ایشان عشق است - و اهنکار نیز سه قسم است، ساتک و راجس
و تامس اهنکار ساتک یعنی گیان سروپ که مرتبهٔ اعلی است آنست
که پرم آتما بگوید که هرچه هست همه منم و این مرتبهٔ احاطهٔ کلّی است

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(1) در کتابخانهٔ بودلین (آکسفورد) کتابی است مسمّی به "رسالهٔ پاس انفاس" از مؤلّفات مولانا عبد الرحمن جامی، (برای تفصیل رجوع کنند بفهرست کتاب خانهٔ هند، مرتّبهٔ زخو و اتهی صفحه ۷۵۸)+

همه اشیا را اَلا اِنَّهُ بِکُلِّ شَیءٍ مُّحِیطٌ (۱) یعنی دانا و آگاه باش بدرستیکه اوست همه چیز را احاطه کننده - دیگر آنکه هُوَ الاَوَّلُ وَالآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالبَاطِنُ (۲) یعنی اوست اوّل و اوست آخر و اوست ظاهر و اوست باطن و آهنکار راجس مَدّهم است که اوسط باشد و این آنست که نظر بر جزو آنها داشته بگویند که ذاتِ من از بدن و عناصر منزّه است و جسمانیت بمن نسبت ندارد، لَیسَ کَمِثلِهِ شَیءٌ (۳) یعنی نیست مانند او چیزی فَاِنَّ اللّهَ غَنِیٌّ عَنِ العَالَمِینَ (۴) یعنی خدای تعالی بی نیاز است از ظهورِ عالم و آهنکار تامس اَدهَم است که ادنی باشد و این اودیاست یعنی مرتبهٔ عبودیتِ حضرتِ وجود - و ادنی بودن از جهتِ آنست که از نهایتِ تنزّل و تعیّن و تعیّن نادانی و جهل و غفلت را بخود نسبت میکنند و نظر بر جنابِ مخصوصهٔ خود نموده میگویند که "من" و "تو" از مرتبهٔ یگانگی دور می اُفتد قُل اِنَّمَا اَنَا بَشَرٌ مِّثلُکُم (۵)، یعنی بگو ای محمّد که جز این نیست که منم بشری مانند شما - خلاصه نیست میگویند که چون حضرتِ وجود خواست که متعیّن شود بمجرّدِ این اراده برم آتما شد و چون این تعیّن زیاده شد آهنکار بهم رسید و چون تعیّن دیگر بر آن افزود مهاتت که عقلِ کُل باشد نام یافت، و از سنکلپ و مهاتت من یعنی قلب پیدا شد که آن را پرکرت نیز گویند و از سنکلپ من پنج گیان اندری که سامّه و لامسه و باصره و شامّه و ذائقه باشند بظهور آمد و از سنکلپ و این پنج گیان اندری اعضاء و اجسام بهم رسند و این مجموعه را بدن گویند - پس برم آتما که ابو الارواح باشد (که

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۴۱ ۵۴ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۷ ۳ *
(۳) ,, ۴۲ ۱۱ * (۴) ,, ۳ ۹۲ * (۵) قرآن مجید، ۱۸ ۱۱ *

و موجّدانِ هند آن‌را هِرن گربهه و اوسهات آنمان نامند که اشارة بمرتبة اعظمت است - و بعد از ان عنصرِ باد است که آن‌را نفس‌الرحمن گویند، و ازان نَفَس باد پیدا شد و چون ان نَفَس بجهتِ حبس در حضرتِ وجود که در هنگام بعثت برای ظهور داشت گرم بر آمد از باد آتش پیدا شد - و چون در همان نَفَس صفتِ رحمانیت و اتحاد بود سرد شد و از آتش آب پیدا شد اما چون عنصرِ باد و آتش از غایتِ لطافت محسوس نمیشدند و آب به نسبتِ آن هر دو محسوس است، بجهت محسوس بودنِ آن بعضی گفته اند که اول آب پیدا شد و بعد از آن عنصرِ خاک، و این خاک منزلهٔ کفِ آن آب است، چون شیری که در زیرِآن آتش باشد و بجوش آید و کف کند

* بیت *

چه دانستم کـه این دریای بی پایان چنین باشد
بخـــارش آسمـــان گردد کفِ دریـــا زمین باشد

* دیگر *

یک قطرهٔ چو نقطه خوشنده گشـــت دریا
کف کرد و کف زمین شد ور دودِ او سما شد

و بر عکس این در قیامتِ کبری که آن‌را پرلی اهلِ هند مَهَا پَرلی گویند اول فنای خاک خواهد شد و آن را آب فرو خواهد بُرد و آب را آتش خُشک خواهد ساخت و آتش را باد فرو خواهد نشاند، و باد با روح اعظم در مَهَا اکاس فرو خواهد رفت كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ (۱) یعنی همه چیز فانی خواهد شد مگر روی خدای تعالی که مَهَا اکاس باشد - كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَّ يَبْقَى وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُوالْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَام (۲) یعنی همهٔ آنچه که بر

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۸ ۸۸ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۵ ۲۶ *

روی زمین ئود وانی حواهد شد و باقی ماند روی پروردگار تو که صاحب حلال و اکرام است پس درین دو آیهٔ کریمه که برای فنای جمیع اشیاست فقد وجه که روبه مراد منها اکاس است که آن فنا پذیر نیست و الّا منقرمودی کُلُّ شَیْءٍ هالِکٌ اِلّا هُوَ یعنی همه چیز فانی حواهد شد مگر ذات او - و فقد رو برای منها آکاس باشد چه منها اکاس بمنزلهٔ بدن لطیف آن ذات مقدّس است - و خاک را بزبان اهل هند تُبوی نامند که همه چیز ازو پیدا شده است و باز همه چیز درو فرو میرود بموجب آیهٔ کریمه مِنْهَا خَلَقْنَاکُمْ وَ فِیْهَا نُعِیْدُکُمْ وَ مِنْهَا نُخْرِجُکُمْ تَارَةً اُخْرٰی (۱) یعنی از خاک حلق کردیم شما را و در آن خاک باز حواهیم برد شما را و ازآن خاک بیرون می اریم شما را بار دیگر *

۲ — بیان حواس

موافق این پنج عناصر پنج حواس اند که بزبان اهلِ هند آن را پنج اِندری گویند، سامّه ذائقه باصرهٔ سامعه ولامسه که آن را بزبان اهل هند گهران، رسنا چهنده سرودر و توک میگویند و محسوسات آن را گندهه رس روپ شبد و سپرس نامند- و هریکی ازین حواسِ پنجگانه از جنس یکی ازین عناصر باشد و منسوب بآن سامّه منسوب است بخاک چه هیچ یکی از عناصر بوی ندارد الّا خاک و احساس بوی سامّه میکند - و ذائقه منسوب است بآب چنانچه آب ظاهر است در زبان و باصرهٔ مناسبت دارد بآتش چنانچه درک رنگها بچشم است و نورانیّت در هر دو ظاهر است - و لامسه را نسبت

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۰ ۵۵ *

همسایه و همنشین و همره همه اوست
در دلق گدا و اطلس شه همه اوست
در انجمن فرق و نهانخانهٔ جمع
بالله همه اوست ثمّ بالله همه اوست

درود با محدود بر مظهر اتم باعث ایجاد عالم حضرت محمّد صلّی اللّهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّم و بر آلِ کرام و بر اصحابِ عظام اُو باد - امّا بعد میگوید فقیر بی‌حزن و اندوه محمّد دارا شکوه که بعد از دریافت حقیقت‌الحقائق و تحقیق رموز و دقائقِ مذهبِ برحقِّ صوفیه و فائز گشتن باین عطیّهٔ عظمی در صددِ آن شد که درک کند مشربِ موحّدانِ هند و با بعضی از محقّقانِ این قوم و کاملانِ ایشان که بنهایت ریاضت و ادراک و فهمیدگی و غایت تصوّف و خدا یابی رسیده بودند مکرّر صحبتها داشته و گفتگو نموده جز اختلافِ لفظی در دریافت و شناختِ حق تفاوتی ندید ازین جهت سخنان فریقین را با هم تطبیق داده و بعضی از سخنان که طالبانِ حق را دانستنِ آن ناگزیر و سودمند است فراهم آورده رسالهٔ ترتیب داده و چون مجموعهٔ حقائق و معارفِ دو طائفهٔ حق‌شناس بود لهذا بمجمع البحرین موسوم گردانید بموجب قولِ اکابر که اَلتَّصَوُّفُ هُوَ الْاِنْصَافُ وَالتَّصَوُّفُ تَرْکُ التَّکَلُّفِ، پس هرکه انصاف دارد و از اهلِ ادراک است در می یابد که در تحقیقِ این مراتب چه غور رفته و یقین که فهمیدگانِ صاحب ادراک حظّ وافر ازین رساله خواهند برد - و کند فهمان طرفین را نصیبهٔ از فواید آن نخواهد شد و این تحقیق را موافقِ کشف و ذوقِ خود برای اهلبیتِ خود نوشته ام، و مرا با عوام هر دو قوم کاری نیست - چنانچه خواجه عبیدالله احرار(1) قدّس

(1) خواجه ناصرالدین عبید الله که بلقب خواجه احرار معروف اند، از صوفیان جلیل القدر طایفهٔ نقشبندیه بودند، ولادت شان در سنه ۸۰۶ هـ بوقوع آمده و ایشان بسمر ایام

شدّه فرموده که اگر دانم که کافری پر خطا زمرهٔ توحید بهنجاری می سازند
مذموم و از وی مستغنی و مشت دار مسموم - وَ مِنَ اللهِ التَّوفِیقُ وَ الاِستِعَانَةُ *

۱ — بیان عناصر

بدانکه عناصر پنج اند و مادّهٔ جمیع مخلوقات ناسوتی همین پنج اند
اوّل عنصر اعظم که آن را اهل شرع عرش اکبر میگویند - دوم باد - سوم
آتش - چهارم آب و پنجم خاک و این را زبان اهل هند پانچهه بهوت می
نامند آکَاسْ و بَائی و تیج و جلْ و پرتهی - و آکاس سه اند، بهوت آکاس،
مَنْ آکاس، و چِدّ آکاس آنچه محیط عناصر باشد آن را بهوت آکاس گویند،
و آنچه محیط موجودات است آن را من آکاس نامند و آنچه بر همه محیط
و در همه جا باشد آن را چد آکاس خوانند، و چد آکاس بر حق است یعنی
حادث نیست و بر حدوث و فنای آن هیچ آیهٔ قرآنی و بید که کتاب آسمانی
باشد دلالت نمی کند - از چد آکاس اوّل چیزی که بهم رسید "عشق" بود
که آن را بزبان موحّدان هند مایا گویند وَ کُنتُ کَنزاً مَخفِیّاً فَاَحبَبتُ اَن اُعرَفَ
فَخَلَقتُ الخَلقَ برین دال است، یعنی بودم من گنجی نهان پس
دوست داشتم که شناخته شوم پس ظاهر کردم خلق را برای شناخت خود
و از "عشق" روح اعظم یعنی جیو آتما پیدا شد که آن را حقیقت محمّدی
گویند و آن اشاره بروح کُلّی آن سرور صَلَوةُ اللهِ وَ سَلامُهُ عَلَیهِ است،

زندگانی خویش در سمرقند بسر بردند و بتاریخ ۲۹ ربیع الاوّل سنه ۸۹۵ ه وفات یافتند؛ ملّا علی بن حسین الواعظ الکاشفی در "رشحات عین الحیات" تذکرهٔ خواجه احرار بتفصیل نوشته؛ (و هم رجوع کنند به نفحات الانس جامی صفحه ۳۶۴ - ۳۷ و سفینة الاولیاء از داراشکوه صفحه ۸۱)- و داراشکوه قول بالا را که از خواجه احرار مروی است، در حسنات العارفین (صفحه ۳۹) هم نقل نموده *

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بسم اللّٰه الرحمٰن الرّحیم

بنام آنکه او نامی ندارد * بهر نامی که خوانی سر بر آرد (۱)

حمدِ موفور یگانهٔ را که در زلفِ کفر و اسلام که نقطهٔ مقابل هم اند بر چهرهٔ زیبای بی مثل و نظیرِ خویش ظاهر گردانید و هیچ یکی را از آنها حجابِ رخ نیکوی خود نساخته * نظم *

کفر و اسلام در رهش پویان
وَحْدَهُ لا شَرِیْکَ لَهُ گویان (۲)

در همه اوست ظاهر و همه ازوست جلوه‌گر اوّل اوست و آخر اوست و غیر او موجود نباشد * رباعی (۳) *

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(۱) این شعر از حدیقة‌الحقیقه حکیم سنائی غزنویست، و داراشکوه هم رباعی درین معنی گفته

یک ذرّه ندیدیم ز خورشید جدا + هر قطرهٔ آب هست عینِ دریا
حق را بچه نام کس تواند خواندن + هر نام که هست هست از اسماء خدا

و جامی علیه الرحمة هم درین معنی گفته

گه باده و گه جام خوانیم ترا + گه دانه و گه دام خوانیم ترا
جز نام تو بر لوحِ جهان حرفی نیست + آیا بکدام نام خوانیم ترا

(حسنات العارفین صفحه ۴۵ و صفحه ۱۴۱)

(۲) از دربار اکبری مؤلفهٔ مولوی محمد حسین آزاد (صفحه ۴۹۲) معلوم میشود که ابوالفضل این شعر را برای عمارتی اختیار کرده بود که اکبر در کشمیر بنا نهاده و گویند که این عمارتی بود مشترک درمیان هنود و اهل اسلام +

(۳) این رباعی از کلام مولانا عبدالرحمٰن جامی علیهِ الرَّحْمة است که داراشکوه آنرا در حسنات العارفین (صفحه ۱۴۱) در ضمن شطحیات مولانا مرحوم هم نقل نموده *

مجمع البحرین

از تصنیف

شاهزاده محمّد دارا شکوه

که در سنه ۱۰۶۴ هجری قدسی باتمام رسید

و حالا در سنه ۱۳۴۷ هجری مطابق ۱۹۲۸ میلادی

بسعی و تصحیح اقلّ عباد

محمّد محفوظ الحق

مُدرّس زبان فارسی و اُردو در پریسیدنسی کالج کلکته

بحلیهٔ طبع آراسته گردید

is based on (the figures) 'eight' and 'ten,' beyond which, they say, nothing can be counted Now, "the Smaller Resurrections" that have taken place in the past and will so recur in future are called *khandh parli* [1], which come either like the inundation of water or the conflagration of fire or the storm And, after this period has elapsed, this day (of ours) will turn into evening and "the Great Resurrection," which they call *mahā parli*, will take place, as ordained in the following two verses '*On the day when the earth shall be changed into a different earth*," [2] and "*On the day when We will roll up heaven like the rolling up of the scroll for writings*" [3] Now, after "the Great Resurrection," on the "Night of Concealment," which is parallel to the Day of Manifestation, all the "determinations" will be absorbed in the Self of the Lord—its duration being equal to eighteen *any* years of the world And, the period of *avasthātam* [4], which is identical with *sakhūpat* and *Jabarūt*, is equal to the age of the Lord, who is undisturbed by the creation of mortals or the destruction of the Universe, and the verse of the *Kur'ān* '*Soon will We apply Ourselves to you O you two armies* (of *jin* and human beings)" [5] is a reference to this very *sakhūpat* During the life of the earth the Lord God dwells in the stage of *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World) and, during the period of "the Smaller Resurrections," in the stage of *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World) and, after "the Great Resurrection, in *Jabarūt* (or the Highest Heaven)

O my friend whatever I have recorded in this chapter is the outcome of much painstaking and considerable research and is in accordance with my own inspiration, which, although you may have not read in any book or heard from any one, is also in conformity with the two (above mentioned) Holy verses (of the *Kur'ān*) Now, if this (exposition) falls heavy on the ears of certain defective ones, I entertain no fear on that account "*Then surely Allāh is Self sufficient above any need of the worlds*" [6]

XXII DISCOURSE ON THE INFINITY OF THE CYCLES (*Adwār*)

According to the Indian doctors, God, the Most High is not confined to these days or these nights only but, that, when these nights will termi

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[1] *Khanda pralaya* [2] *Kur'ān* Ch XIV 48 [3] *Kur'ān*, Ch XXI 104
[4] *Avasthātman* [5] *Kur'ān* Ch LV 31 [6] *Kur'ān* Ch III 96

nate days will re appear and when these days will terminate, nights will re appear—this process continuing without end This (process) is named *anād parwāh* [1] and Khwāja Hāfiz, may mercy be on him, having his eye on this Infinity of cycles, has said

"There is no end to my story, or to that of the beloved,
For, whatever hath no beginning can have no end

Now, whatever peculiarities of the manifestation and concealment of His Self have appeared in previous days and nights will also re appear, in exactly the same manner, in the following days and nights, as stated in the Holy verse "*As We originated the first creation,* (*so*) *We shall reproduce it*" [2]

So after the termination of this cycle, the world of Adam the father of men will re appear in exactly the same manner, and, as such, it will be endless And, the verse of the *Kur'ān* '*As He brought you forth in the beginning, so shall you also return*", [3] is also an argument, proving the above (statement) If, however, any one doubts and says that the finality of our Prophet, may peace be on him, is not proved by this exposition, I will tell him that next day also, our Prophet, may peace be on him, will re appear in an exactly similar manner and on that day (also) he will be called, "the Last of the Prophets" The following Tradition which is narrated in connection with the night of Ascent (*Mi'rāj*), is an argument to this effect It is said that our Prophet, may peace be on him, saw a line of camels proceeding (in succession) without any break, and on each of which two bags were laden, in each of which there was a world like that of ours and in each such world there was a Muhammad (just) like him (Our Prophet) asked Gabriel, "What is this?" (Gabriel) replied "Oh Prophet of God! since my creation, I have been witnessing this line of camels proceeding with bags (laden on them), but, I am also unaware of their (real) significance" This, (as I believe), is a reference to the Infinity of the Cycles

Praise be to God for His favours, Who granted me the grace of completing this tract, entitled *Majma' ul Bahrain*, in the year 1065 A H, which corresponds to the forty second year of the age of this unafflicted and unsorrowing *fakīr*, Muhammad Dārā Shikūh

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[1] *Anādi pravāha*

[2] *Kur'ān* Ch XXI 104

[3] *Kur'ān*, Ch VII 29

is the two eye brows of *mahā puras* *tap luk*, which is above *jan luk*, is the forehead of *mahā puras* and the *sat luk* which is above all *luks*, is the skull of *mahā puras*, the verses of *Tawhīd* (monotheism) and the Book of God are the *dura mater* of *mahā puras* the black clouds, which carry the water of *mahā parlı*[1] (i e , the great dissolution), are the hairs of *mahā puras*, the vegetation of all the *luks* is the hair of *mahā puras*' body , *Lachmi*[2], who is the wealth and adornment of the world, is the beauty of *mahā puras*, the shining sun is the purity of *mahā puras*' body , *bhūt akās*[3] are the pores of *mahā puras* body , *chid akās*[4] is the soul of *mahā puras* body, the form of every single human being is the abode of *mahā puras* the perfect man is the closet and special abode of *mahā puras* as He said to David may peace be on him "Oh David, build a house for Me" (He) replied, "Oh God ! Thou art exempt from habitation" (God) said, "Thou art my abode Make thy house void of 'others'" The attributes, found in abundance in *Barhmānd*, are present in man who is the epitome of 'the Great World" (*'Ālam i Kabīr*) In fine, one who beholds and understands in this way attains *jīwan mukt*[5], and the following verse (of the Kur'ān) is in favour of the above "*Rejoicing in what Allāh has given them out of His grace*"[6]

Secondly, *Sarab mukt*,[7] or the liberation from every kind of bondage, consists in absorption in His Self This (salvation) is universally true in the case of all living beings, and, after the destruction of the sky, the earth, the Paradise the Hell, the *Barhmānd* and the day and the night, they will attain salvation by annihilation in the Self (of the Lord) And the Holy verse "*And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement*"[8] and "*Now surely the friends of Allāh—they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve*,"[9] is a reference to this very *mukt*, or salvation

Thirdly, *Sarbadā mukt*[10] or later salvation, consists in becoming an *'Ārif* (i e knower of God) and in attaining freedom and salvation, in every stage of "progress" (*sair*), whether this (progress) be made in the day or the night, whether in the manifest or the hidden world, whether the *Barhmānd* appears or not and whether (it takes place) in

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[1] *Mahāpralaya* [2] *Lakṣmi* [3] *Bhūtākāśa* [4] *Cidākāśa*
[5] *Jivanmukti* [6] *Kur'ān* Ch III 169 [7] *Sarvamukti*
[8] *Kur'ān* Ch IX 72 [9] *Kur'ān*, Ch X 62 [10] *Sarbadā mukti*

the past, the present or the future i e *bhūt*[1], *bhūsht*[2] *bartamān*[3] And wherever the Holy *Kur'ān* speaks of Paradise ' *Abiding therein* (i e in *jannat*) *for ever* '[4], there, (the word) *jannat* (Paradise) applies to *ma'rifat* (or knowledge) of God and *abadā* (ابدا) refers to the perpetuity of this *mukt* (or salvation) the reason being that, in whatever state (one) may be the capacity to know God (i e of *ma'rifat*) and to receive Eternal favour is (absolutely) necessary Hence the following two Holy verses have been revealed (to give good tidings) to such a group (of persons) as attain *mukt* or, salvation '*Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs abiding therein for ever, surely Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him* ' and *Give good news (Oh Prophet) to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward*, (i e a *ma'rifat*, or, knowledge of God, the Most Holy and High, which, certainly, is a handsome reward for the '*Ārifs*, namely, that of *Firdaws i Ā'lā*) *staying in it* (i e in *Firdaws i A'lā*) *for ever* "[6]

XXI DISCOURSE ON DAY AND NIGHT (*Rūz wa Shab*)

Divinity of Creation and Concealment —According to the Indian monotheists, the age of *Barhmā*, who is identical with Gabriel, and the annihilation of *Barhmānd* and the end of the " Day of Creation," or the "Day of Divinity, ' is eighteen *anj* years of the world, each *anj* (again) is equal to one thousand years, as mentioned in the two Holy verses of the *Kur'ān* " *And surely a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what you number* [7] The other Holy verse is " *To Him ascend the angels and the Spirit* (that is *Jibra'īl* or *Barhmā*) *in a day the measure of which is fifty thousand years*," [8] and each day of which consists of one thousand years, as may be deduced from the former verse (of the *Kur'ān*) So, according to my reckoning, the age of Gabriel and the duration of the life of Day and the whole Universe, which is identical with *Barhmānd*, is (equal to) eighteen *anj* years of the world , each *anj* of which (in its turn) is equal to one thousand years—there being not the least increase or decrease Such is the reckoning of the Indian monotheists It must also be known that their (i e Indians') specification of the figure *eighteen*

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[1] *Bhūta* [2] *Bhavisyat* [3] *Vartamāna* [4] *Kur'ān* Ch IX 22
[5] *Kur'ān* Ch IX 21 22 [6] *Kur'ān* Ch XVIII 2 3
[7] *Kur'ān* Ch XXII 47 [8] *Kur'ān* Ch LXX 4

all veins reach the navel, so all the rivers meet the ocean, the *Gangā* the *Jamnā* and the *Sarastī* are the principal veins (*Shāhrag*) of *mahā puras* *anklā*, *jamnān biklā*, *jamunān*, *Sakhmanā*[1] and *Sarasti* *bhuluk* which is above *bhuluks* and is the abode of *Gandharp divtās*[2] and where all sounds originate, are the stomach of *mahā puras* the fire of "the smaller Resurrection" (*Kiyāmat i Sughrā*) is the morning appetite of *mahā puras*, the drying up of waters in "the smaller Resurrection" is the thirst of *mahā puras*, *sarag luk*[3] which is above *bhuluk* and is one of the divisions of Paradise, is the chest of *mahā puras*, for it is the abode of perpetual festivity, happiness and peace all the stars are the various jewels of *mahā puras*, gift, before the asking which is liberality and bounty, is the right breast and gift, after the asking, which is donation is the left breast of *mahā puras* moderation (*i'tidāl*), which is composed of *rajūgun*,[4] *satūgun*[5] and *tamūgun*,[6] called *paraka art*[7] (collectively), is the heart of *mahā puras*, and just as water lily has three colours namely, white, red and violet, so the heart also, whose colour is like that of a water lily has three qualities, (which may be identified with) the three colours of manifestation, namely, *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh* *Barhmā*, who is also called *man*, is the beating and intention of the heart of *mahā puras* *Bishun* is the love and mercy of *mahā puras* *Mahish* is the wrath and rage of *mahā puras*, the moon, which removes the heat of pain and grief is the smile and the happy mood of *mahā puras* the night is the bow of *mahā puras*, the *sumir parat*[8] mountain is the backbone of *mahā puras*, the mountains that are on the right and the left of *Sumirū* are the bones of the ribs of *mahā puras* the two hands of *mahā puras* are the eight guardian angels who have *Indar*[9] as their chief (the latter) possessing the complete power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain, the right hand of *mahā puras* is that of showing generosity and pouring rain while the left one is that of holding the same back, *amcharā*,[10] or the *Houris* (Hūr) of Paradise, are the lines of the palm of *mahā puras* the angels, called *chach*[11] are the nails of the hand of *mahā puras*, the three *luk pāl*[12] angels are the right hand of *mahā puras*,
the angel named *jam*[13] is the arm of *mahā puras*, the remaining

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1 These words could not be identified 2 *Gandharva devatā* 3 *Svargaloka*
4 *Rajoguna* 5 *Satvaguna* 6 *Tamoguna* 7 *Prakrti*
8 *Sumeruparvata* 9 *Indra* 10 *Apsaras* 11 *Yaksa*
12 *Lokapāla* 13 *Yama*

luk pāl angels are the left hand of *mahā puras* the angel *Kubair* is the knee of *mahā puras*

Kalap brach[1], or the *Tūbā*[2] tree, is the wand of *mahā puras*, the southern and the northern poles are the right and the left shoulders, respectively, of *mahā puras*, the *luk pāl* angel, named *Baran*, who is the superintendent of water and resides in the west is the bone of *mahā puras* neck, *anāhat*,[3] or *Sultān ul Adhkār*, is the thin voice of *mahā puras*, *mahar luk*[4], which is above *sarag luk*[5], is the throat and neck of *mahā puras*, *jan luk*[6] which is above *mahar luk*, is the auspicious face of *mahā puras*, the will of the world is the chin pit of *mahā puras*, the avarice of the world is the lower lip of *mahā puras*, the sense of shame and modesty is the upper lip of *mahā puras*, the chest, that is, (the abode of) love and attachment is the gums of *mahā puras*, the meal of the whole world is the food of *mahā puras*, the element of water is the palate and mouth of *mahā puras*, the element of fire is the tongue of *mahā puras*, *sarasti* is the faculty of speech of *mahā puras*, the four *Vedas*, or the four books of truth, are the speeches of *mahā puras*, *māyā*, or love, which is the cause of creation of the universe, is the laughter and good humour of *mahā puras*, the eight directions of the world are the two ears of *mahā puras* *Ashnī Kumār*[7], who are the two angels of exceeding beauty, are the two nostrils of *mahā puras* *gandha tanmātar*[8], or the element of dust, is the smelling faculty of *mahā puras*, the element of air is the breathing faculty of *mahā puras*, *jan luk* and *tap luk*,[9] which are the fifth and sixth divisions of Paradise, are illumined with the light of His Self, and their southern and northern halves are the right and the left eyes, respectively, of *mahā puras*, the pure light (or, *nūr*), which is called "the Eternal Sun," is the faculty of eye sight possessed by *mahā puras*, the whole creation is the favourable glance of *mahā puras*, the days and the nights of the world are the twinklings of the eyes of *mahā puras*, the angel *Mitr*, who is the commissary of love and friend ship and the angel *Tavastā*[10], who is the commissary of wrath and rage,

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1 *Kalpa vriksa*

2 *Tūbā*, a tree on the seventh heaven is said to be the abode of Gabriel It is stated that no one can go above the Tree—the only exception being made in the case of Muhammad on the night of *Mi'rāj* or Ascent 3 *Anāhata*

4 *Mahar loka* 5 *Svargaloka* 6 *Janaloka*

7 *Aśvini Kumāra* 8 *Gandhatanmatra* 9 *Tapoloka* 10 *Tvasta*

First, Jiwan mukt[1], or salvation in life. According to them (i.e. the Indians), *Jiwan mukt* consists in one's attainment of salvation and freedom, by being endowed with the wealth of knowing and understanding the Truth, in seeing and considering everything of this world as *one*; in ascribing to God and not to oneself, all (i.e. man's) deeds, actions, movements and behaviour, whether good or bad, and in regarding oneself, together with all other existing objects, as in complete identity with the Truth. Further he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon *Barhmānd*, which the Sūfis call *'Ālam-i-Kubrā* (or the Great World) and is (moreover) the "Complete Form" of God, as the corporeal body of God. He should regard *'Unsur-i-A'ẓam* (or the Great Element) namely, *mahā akās*, as *Sūcham Sarīr*[2], or the fine body of God, and should consider the Self of God as the soul of that body. Further, considering Him as One Fixed Person, he should behold or know nothing, save the Self of that Unique, Incomparable Lord, whether (it be) in a particle of dust or a mountain, whether in the manifest or the hidden world. Now, just as a human being, who is called the 'smaller world' (*'Ālam-i-Saghīr*), is one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs, so that Unique Self cannot be considered multitudinous on account of the variety of determinations. (Verse)

" The whole world, whether of souls or bodies
Is One Fixed Person—called *'Ālam*."

So, one should consider God, the Most Holy and High, Who is not separated even by a hair's breadth, as the soul and life of that "Fixed Person" as is said by Shaikh Sa'duddin Hummu'i[3]. *Quatrain*

"Truth is the soul of the world, the whole world the trunk,
Souls, angels and senses are the bodies.
The skies, the elements, the three Kingdoms of nature (i.e., animal, vegetable and mineral) and the bodies—
This is Monotheism and all else is device and artifice."

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[1] *Jivanmukti* [2] *SūksmaŚarīra*

[3] Sa'duddin b. al-Muwayyad Hummu'i was a great mystic and a writer of numerous works on Ṣūfism. A summary of 400 of his works entitled *Kashf-ul-Haķā'iķ* is noticed in A.S.B. Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 565. He died in 650 A.H. = 1253 A.D.

Similarly, the Indian monotheists, like Vyās[1] and others, having considered *Barhmānd* which is *'Ālam i Kabīr* (or the great world), as one individual self have accordingly, described the different limbs of its (i e *Barhmānd's*) body The reason (of such description) is that whenever a pure mystic casts his eyes on anything he conceives that he is looking at a particular limb of *mahā puras*[2], that is, the Self of the Truth, Sanctified and Exalted is He

(Now), *Pātāl*[3] which is the seventh layer of the earth, is the sole of *mahā puras'* foot, *Rasātal*[4], which is the sixth layer, is the upper part of *mahā puras'* foot, the Satans are the fingers of *mahā puras'* foot, the steeds used by the Satans are the nails of *mahā puras'* foot, *Mahātal*[5] which is the fifth layer of the earth, is the ankle bone of *mahā puras*, *Talātal*[6] which is the fourth layer of the earth, is the shank of *mahā puras*, *Sutal*[7], which is the third layer of the earth, is the knee of *mahā puras*, *Batal*[8] which is the second layer of the earth, is the thigh of *mahā puras*, *Atal*[9] which is the first layer of the earth, is the special organ of *mahā puras*, *Kāl*[10], or time, is the pace of *mahā puras* *Parjānat divtā*[11], who is the cause of birth and issue throughout the whole world, is the sign of manhood and virility of *mahā puras* rain is the seed of *mahā puras*, *bhuluk*[12], namely, from the earth up to the sky is the part below the navel of *mahā puras*, the three southern and the three northern mountains are the right and the left hands of *mahā puras*, *sumir parat*[13] is the buttocks of *mahā puras*, the light of the false dawn is the thread of the lace of *mahā puras'* garments, the light of the true dawn is the whiteness of *mahā puras'* sheet (*chādar*), the evening when the twilight is visible is the garment, covering *mahā puras'* private parts, the sea, namely, the encircling ocean, is the circumference and depth of *mahā puras'* navel *Bādavānal*[14], namely, the place of the fire, which even today is sucking the water of the seas and is preventing storms and will suck all waters on the day of Resurrection, is the heat and warmth of *mahā puras'* stomach, the rivers are the veins of *mahā puras* and, as

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1 *Vyāsa* 2 *Mahāpuruṣa* 3 *Pātāla* 4 *Rasātala*
5 *Mahātala* 6 *Talātala* 7 *Sutala* 8 *Vitala*
9 *Atala* 10 *Kāla* 11 *Parjanya devatā* 12 *Bhūloka*
13 *Sumeruparvata* 14 *Vādavānala*

and rivers, are called *Sarag*[1] by the Indian doctors, which, in other words, is called *Bihisht* or *Jannat* (i e Paradise) (by the Muslims) Now the land, the river and the mountain which are below (all) lands, mountains and the rivers, are known as *narak*[2], or *Dūzakh* and *Jahannam* that is Hell and the infernal fire The Indian monotheists have held that the Heaven and the Hell are not beyond this very universe (of ours), which we call *Barhmānd* and (they further hold) that the seven skies which are the stations of the seven planets, do not revolve above Paradise but (rather) round it The roof of Paradise is called *man akās*, that is *'Arsh*, and its (i e Paradise) ground is called *Kursī*

XVIII DISCOURSE ON THE WORLD OF *Barzakh* (*Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection*)

Our Prophet, may peace be on him and salutation, has said ' *Whosoever dies, verily there is resurrection for him* '

After death, *ātmā*, or soul having left the body of elements, enters, without any delay, the body of *mukt*, which is called *Sūcham Sarir*[3] It is a fine body, formed by our action—good action having a good and bad action having a bad form Now after " Question and Answer," (which will be made after death), those deserving of Paradise will be taken to Paradise, while those deserving of Hell to Hell, as stated in the Holy verse " *So as to those who are unhappy, they shall be in the fire, for them shall be sighing and groaning in it Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases, surely thy Lord is the mighty doer of what He intends And as to those who are made happy, they shall be in the garden, abiding in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases a gift which shall never be cut off* '[4]

Now, ' bringing out of hell," means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, He may, if He wishes, take out (the condemned person) from Hell and carry him to Paradise In explaining this verse Ibn Mas'ūd[5], may God be pleased with him, has said that " a period will come in the (life of) Hell when, after a long sojourn, no one will remain

[1] *Svarga* [2] *Naraka* [3] *Sūkshma Sarira*

[4] *Kur'ān*, Ch XI 106 107 108

[5] Ibn Mas ūd (Abdullāh b Mas'ūd) (b 28 before Hijra) was a well known companion of the Prophet He was present at the battle of Badr His death took place at al Madina in 32 A H

inside it" And, "bringing out of Paradise", means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, God may, if He wishes, bring up its occupants to the High Paradise (*Firdaws-i A'lā*)—for His generosity is limitless The following Holy verse is also a proof (of the above statement) *And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement*" [1]—namely, that God has a Paradise which is larger than other Paradises

The Indians call it *Baikunth* [2], which in the opinion of the Indian monotheists is the greatest salvation

XIX DISCOURSE ON THE RESURRECTION (*Kiyāmat*)

The Indian monotheists have held that after a very long stay in Heaven or Hell, the *mahā parlī* [3], or the Great Resurrection, will take place, which (fact) is also ascertainable from the Holy verse (of the Kur'ān) "*But when the Great Resurrection comes*" [4] The following verse also speaks of the same, "*And the trumpet shall be blown so all those that are in the heavens and all those that are in the earth shall swoon except such as Allāh pleases*" [5]

This (exception) refers to the group of *Ārifs* (i e Knowers of God) who are immune from senselessness or thoughtlessness both in this and the next world Now, after the upsetting of the skies, the destruction of the heavens and the hells and the completion of the age of *Barhmānd*, the occupants of Heaven and Hell will achieve *mukt* [6], that is, both will be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord, as stated in the Holy verse "*Every one on it must pass away And there will endure for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour*" [7]

XX DISCOURSE ON *Mukt* (SALVATION)

Mukt means the annihilation and disappearance of determinations, in the Self of the Lord, as it appears from the Holy verse "*And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement*" [8]

Now, entrance into *Ridwān-i-Akbar*, or the High Paradise, is a great salvation, called *mukt* *Mukt* is of three kinds

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[1] *Kur'ān* Ch IX 72 [2] *Vaikuntha* [3] *Mahapralaya*

[4] *Kur'ān* Ch LXXIX 34 Mawlawi Muhammad Ali has translated, as 'the great predominating calamity which he says may not necessarily refer to Resurrection [5] *Kur'ān* Ch XXXIX 68 [6] *Mukti*

[7] *Kur'ān* Ch LV 26, 27 [8] *Kur'ān*, Ch IX 72

XIII DISCOURSE ON *Barhmānd*

By *Barhmānd* is meant "All" (*kul*), which (term) applies to the determination of the Necessary Self in the shape of a round globe and, as it is not inclined towards or joined to any one its proportion to all is equal and every creation and exhibition takes place in its midst—hence the name *Barhmānd*, given to it by the Indian monotheists

XIV DISCOURSE ON THE DIRECTIONS (*Jihāt*)

The Muslim monotheists regard the East, the West, the North, the South, the top and the bottom as each a separate direction Hence, according to them there are *six* directions, while according to the reckoning of the Indian monotheists there are *ten* directions (in all) They consider the space between the East, the West the North and the South as each a separate direction and, accordingly name them *dah dishā*[1]

XV DISCOURSE ON THE SKIES (*Āsmānhā*)

According to the Indians, the skies, which are called *Gagan*[2], are eight in number Of these, seven are the stations of the seven planets, namely, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon In the Indian language, however, they are called the seven *nichattars*[3] that is, *sanīchar*[4], *brahspat*[5], *mangal*[6], *sūraj*[7], *sukur*[8], *budh*[9], and *chandra mās*[10] Now, the sky which contains all the fixed stars is regarded as the eighth and the learned men call this very sky 'the eighth sphere', or, 'the sphere of fixed stars' (*falak i thawābit*) while the Muhammadan religious doctors (*ahl i shar'*) designate it *Kursī* in their own phraseology (So runs the Holy verse) "*His Kursī* (*throne*) *extends over the heavens and the earth*"[11]

The ninth (sky), which is called *mahā akās*[12], has not been included in the (list of) skies, the reason being that it (i e *mahā akās*) encircles all and even the *Kursī*, the skies and the earths are contained in it

XVI DISCOURSE ON THE EARTH (*Zamīn*)

According to the Indians, the earth has been divided into seven layers, called *Sapat tāl*[13], each of which is named *atal*[14], *batal*[15],

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[1] *Daśa diśah* [2] *Gagana* [3] *Nakṣatra* [4] *Śanaiścara* [5] *Bṛhaspati*
[6] *Maṅgala* [7] *Sūrya* [8] *Śukra* [9] *Budha* [10] *Candramas*
[11] *Qur'ān*, Ch 11 255 [12] *Mahākāśa* [13] *Sapta tala* [14] *Atala* [15] *Vitala*

sutal[1], *talātal*[2], *mahātal*[3], *rasātal*[4], and *pātāl*[5] According to the Muslims also the earth has seven (layers) as contained in the Holy verse '*Allāh is He who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like of them*" [6]

XVII Discourse on the Divisions of the Earth (*Kismat i-Zamīn*)

The learned men have divided the inhabited globe into seven parts, designating them as the "seven spheres" (*Haft Iklim*), which the Indians name *sapatdīp* [7] They do not consider the seven spheres as the layers of an onion rather, they conceive them, as the steps of a ladder And, the seven mountains, which the Indians call *sapat kulā chal*[8], are regarded by them as surrounding every sphere—their names being—(1) *Sumirū*[9] (2) *Samūpat*[10], (3) *Himakūt*[11], (4) *Himavan*[12], (5) *Nakadh*, (6) *Pārjātar*[13] and (7) *Kailās*[14] Accordingly, it is mentioned in the Kur'ān "*And the mountains are projections thereon*" (*i e on the earth*) [15]

Now round each of the seven mountains there are seven seas, which are surrounding each mountain They are called *Sapat Samundar* [16] their names being (1) *Lavan Samundar*[17], or the sea of salt, (2) *Unchch ras samundar*[18], or the sea of sugar candy, (3) *Surā Samundar*[19], or the sea of wine, (4) *Ghirat Samundar*[20] or the sea of *Ghee*, (5) *Dadh Samundar*[21], or the sea of curd, (6) *Khīr Samundar*[22], or the sea of milk and (7) *Sawād jal*,[23] or the sea of pure water The fact that the seas are seven in number is ascertainable from the (following) verse of the Kur'ān '*And were every tree that is in the earth (made into) pens and the sea (to supply it with ink), with seven more seas to increase it the words of Allāh would not come to an end*"[24] Now, in every land, mountain and river, there is a variety of creation The land, the mountain and the river which are above all lands, mountains

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[1] *Sutala* [2] *Talātala* [3] *Mahātala* [4] *Rasātala*
[5] *Pātāla* [6] Kur'ān, Ch LXV 12 [7] *Saptadvipa*
[8] *Sapta Kulācala* [9] *Sumeru* [10] *Suktimah* [11] *Hemakuta*
[12] *Himavat* [13] *Pāriyātra* [14] *Kailasa* [15] *Kur'ān* Ch LXXVIII 7
[16] *Sapta Samudra* [17] *Lavana Samudra* [18] *Iksu rasa Samudra*
[19] *Surā Samudra* [20] *Ghrta Samudra* [21] *Dadhi Samudra*
[22] *Ksira Samudra* [23] *Svādujala* [24] *Kur'ān* Ch XXXI 27

extant works 150 are known of which *Fusūs ul Hikam*, the *Futūhāt ul Makkiya* and the *Dīwān* enjoy wide celebrity He came to the East in 1201 A D and died at Damascus on November 16 1240 A D See Browne *Literary History of Persia*, vol II, pp 497–501 *Nafahāt* Nassau Lees edition, pp 633–645

40 Abul Jannāb Ahmad b Umar al Khiwāki, commonly known as Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā was the celebrated mystic of Khwārazm His title "Kubrā" is derived from the name of *at tāmmat ul kubrā* or the supreme calamity given him on account of his wonderful ability as a debater He was killed during the sack of Khwārazm by the Mongols 618 A H = 1221 See Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II, pp 491–494 *Nafahāt* Nassau Lees' edition pp 480–487, *Safinat ul Awliyā* p 103–105

41 Abū Tālib (or Abū Hāmid) Muhammad b Abū Bakr Ibrāhim better known as Fariduddin *Attār* is the celebrated mystic poet He is said to have composed 114 works but now only about 30 are extant His *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* is one of the most wellknown biographies of Muslim saints and mystics Various dates have been given of his death but the most acceptable of all is perhaps 627 A H For his life see Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II pp 506–515 and the valuable introduction to *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* written by Mirzā Muhammad of Kazwin

42 Jalāluddin Muhammad commonly called Jalāluddin Rūmi the author of the celebrated *Mathnawi* was born at Balkh in 1207 A D He had to leave his native country during his infancy and, after staying at several places settled at Kūniya where he came in contact with that mystic of magnetic personality—Shams i Tabriz Rūmi is also the author of a *Dīwān* which is dedicated to the memory of his spiritual guide the well known Shams i Tabriz He died in February 1231 For his life see Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II pp 515–525 *Nafahāt* p 409

43 Muinuddin Muhammad Chishti, who is considered by many as the greatest mystic of India was born in 537 A H =1142 A D Having travelled in Khurāsān, he came to Baghdād and thence to Dihli (598 A H = 1193) and finally to Ajmir, where he died in 633 = 1236 His tomb is visited every year by thousands of his votaries He is the founder of the *Chishti* order which finds the largest number of votaries in India A lithographed *Dīwān* popularly ascribed to him has been conclusively proved to be the work of Muinuddin Miskin, the famous preacher of Hirāt and author of *Ma'ārij un Nubuwwat*

44 Muhammad b Muhammad called Khwāja Bahāuddin Nakshband, the founder of the *Nakshbandi* order was born at Bukhārā, in A H 728 = 1327 A D His sayings were collected by one of his disciples a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum (Rieu p 862) Bahāuddin died in 791 A H = 1388 A D See *Nafahāt* Nassau Lees' edition, pp 439–445 *Safinat ul Auliyā* pp 78 79

45 Khwāja Nāsiruddin Ubaidullāh Ahrār better known as Khwāja Ahrār, was born in 806 A H =1403 A D His life and teachings form the main topic of Ali b Husain al Wā iz al Kāshifi s *Rashahāt Ain ul Hayāt* which records his death on the 29th of Rabi' I, 895 A H (= 1489 A D) See *Nafahāt* p 364

[46] Nūruddīn Abdur Raḥmān Jāmī the well known author of *Nafaḥāt ul Uns* and the last great classical poet of Persia, was born in a village in the district of Jām, on the 23rd Sha'bān, 817 A H = 7th November 1414 A D He attended the courts of Sultān Abū Sa'īd and Sultān Ḥusain Baykarā and died at Hirāt, on the 18th Muḥarram, 898 A H = 9th November, 1492 A D Besides *Haft Awrang* and three Dīwāns, *Ashi'at ul Lama'āt Arba'īn Shawāhid un Nubuwwat* and other works on religious and Ṣūfistic subjects are also written by him See K B 'Abdul Muktadir's *Catalogue of the O P Library* Bankipore vol II pp 32–90

[47] Mīr Muḥammad b Sā'īn Dātā, commonly known as Miyān Mīr or Miyān Jīv was born in A H 938 He came to Lahore and stayed there for about sixty years He was highly respected for his piety and was frequently visited by Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh His death took place on the 7th Rabī I 1045 A H, at the ripe old age of 107 Dārā Shikūh has written a work entitled *Sakīnat ul Awliyā* dealing with the life of the saint and his disciples and has also given a notice of the life of the saint in his *Safīnat ul Awliyā*

[48] He was one of the spiritual teachers of Dārā, and died on 15th Rabī 1062, (*Ḥasanāt ul 'Ārifīn* pp 53–57)

[49] Mullā Shāh Muḥammad b Mullā Abd Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisānullah, came from Badakhshān to Lahore in 1023 A H = 1614 A D and became a disciple of Miyān Mīr, the great saint of the time He was highly respected by Dārā Shikūh who was initiated by him into the *Kādirī* order in 1049 A H = 1639 A D After the death of Miyān Mīr (1045 A H) Mullā Shāh retired to Kashmir where he passed the remaining days of his life in a monastery built by Dārā Shikūh and his sister Jahān Ārā He died in 1072 A H = 1661 62 A D Mullā Shāh was a voluminous writer and has left a *Dīwān*, which has been lithographed besides several works on Ṣūfism (For his life see *Sakīnat ul Awliyā* pp 116 158)

[50] Shaikh Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā is spoken of by Dārā Shikūh as one of his teachers (*Ḥasanāt ul Ārifīn* pp 59–61) and considered as ' unrivalled in *Fakīrī*, self suppression religious exercises, retirement and singularity Further he tells us that now a days (i e, about 1064 A H) he has adopted a life of complete isolation and sees the face of none and speaks with visitors from behind the veil Dārā records a number of very interesting sayings of the saint in his *Ḥasanāt ul Ārifīn* (pp 59–61)

[51] Shaikh Ṭayyib Sarhindī receives very scanty notice in the *Ḥasanāt ul Ārifīn* of Dārā Shikūh There (p 15 of the Urdū text), he is spoken of as a friend of Bābā Piyārāy and as one who narrated several very interesting anecdotes of the Bābā Beyond this, I have not been able to get any other information regarding the life of this Shaikh

[52] Bāwā Lāl Bairāgī was a Hindū saint who was held in high esteem by Dārā Shikūh For his life and the conversations that he had with Dārā Shikūh see *Introduction*

the founder of the Zāhirite School Of his works *Ghulat ul Wājidīn* has been much appreciated by al Hujwiri (*Kashf*, p 135) He died in 303 A H = 914 A D For further information refer to *Kashf ul Mahjūb* pp 135 136 *Nafahāt* pp 96–98 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, ed Nicholson vol II, pp 61–67 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā* vol II p } *Safinat ul Awliyā*, p 110

[26] Abū Sa'id Ahmad b Īsā al Kharrāz was a disciple of Muhammad b Mansūr at Tūsi and a companion of Dhun Nūn Bishi and Sari Both according to Jāmi (*Nafahāt* p 75) and Hujwiri (*Kashf ul Mahjūb* p 143), Kharrāz was the first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (*fanā*) and subsistence (*bakā*) ' His followers are known as *Kharrāzīs* (see *Kashf* pp 241–246) It is said that he left 400 works on mysticism He died in 286 287 A H = 900 A D For further reference see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol II, pp 40–45, *Khazīnat ul Asfiyā*, vol II p 165 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 131 135

[27] Abul Husain Ahmad b Muhammad an Nūri, was a companion of Junaid and a disciple of Sari He was also known by the name of Ibn al Baghavi as his father hailed from Baghshūr or Baghthūr (*Khazina* p 169) a city between Hirāt and Marv Nūri was born at Baghdād and died in 295 A H = 907 A D His followers are known as *Nūrīs* whose principal doctrine is to regard Sūfism (*tasawwuf*) as superior to poverty (*fakr*) (See *Kashf* pp 189–195) For further information see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, ed Nicholson, vol II pp 46–55 *Nafahāt* pp 80 81 *Kashf ul Mahjūb* pp 130–132 *Khazīnat ul Asfiyā* vol II pp 169–171 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 137 138

[28] Abū Ishāk Ibrāhim b Ahmad al Khawwās is the author of some excellent works on the ethics of Sūfism According to some he was an inhabitant of Baghdād and a companion of Nūri and Junaid He died in 291 A H = 903 904 A D For further particulars see *Kashf ul Mahjūb* tr Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series) pp 153 154 *Nafahāt* pp 137–139 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 136, 137, *Khazinat ul Asfiyā* vol II pp 167–169

[29] Abū Bakr b Dulaf b Jahdar ash Shibli or Dulaf b Ja far was the celebrated disciple of Junaid According to Jāmi (*Nafahāt* N Lees ed p 201) he was a Māliki and learned the *Muwattā* by heart He died in 334 A H = 945 A D at the age of 87 For further particulars refer to *Kashf ul Mahjūb* tran Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series) pp 155 156 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson Vol II, pp 160–182 *Safinat ul Awliyā*, pp 39–41 *Nafahāt* pp 174–178

[30] See foot note on p 13

[31] Abū Sa'id Fadlullāh b Abul Khair the celebrated Shaikh and author of mystic quatrains was born at Mahna a village in the district of Khāwarān on December 7 967 A D According to the author of *Akhlāk i Jalāli*, he is said to have come in personal contact with Avicenna He died on January 2 1049 A D For further particulars see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol II, pp 261–269 *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, tr Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp 164–166 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol II pp 322–337 *Nafahāt* pp 277–282

[32] Shaikh ul Islām Khwāja Abū Isma'il 'Abdullāh Ansāri the well known

author of the *Munājāt* or 'Supplications and several other Sūfi works was born at Hirāt on May 4 1006 A D He delivered learned discourses at Hirāt on the life and teachings of the Sūfis which were embodied in a book entitled *Tabakāt i Abdullāh Ansārī* a copy of which is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see Ivanow's Catalogue pp 78-83) Ansari died in 1088 A D For further particulars see Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II, pp 269 270

33 Shaikh ul Islām Abū Nasr Ahmad b Abul Hasan al Jāmi surnamed Zhandapil was born in the district of Jām in A H 441 A H = 1049 A D He is celebrated as a mystic and the author of some fourteen works on Sūfism of which only five are said to be extant He also compiled a *Dīwān* which has been lithographed several times in India His death took place in 536 A H = 1141 A D For further particulars see K B Abdul Muktadir's *Catalogue of O P Library* Bankipore vol I pp 30-32

34 Muhammad Mashūk at Tūsi had according to *Kashf ul Mahjūb* "an excellent spiritual state and was aglow with love According to Jāmi (*Nafahāt* p 284), Abū Sa'id b Abul Khair visited him with several of his companions He was buried at Tūs See *Nafahāt* pp 283, 284

35 Shaikh Ahmad al Ghazzālī the brother of the celebrated Imām al Ghazzālī, is the author of several Sufic religious works the principal among them being *Risāla i Sawānih* He died in 517 A H See *Nafahāt* pp 336 337 *Safīnat-ul Awliyā* pp 102 103

36 Abul Kāsim b Ali b Abdullāh al Gurgāni was a comtemporary of al Hujwiri the author of *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, who records an instance of personal contact with the Shaikh (see *Kashf* pp 169, 170) He died in 450 A H See *Nafahāt*, pp 282 283 *Safinat ul Awliyā* p 76 *Khazina*, II, pp 7 8

37 Muhiuddin Abū Muhammad Abdul Kādir b Abi Sālih Mūsā al Jili one of the greatest and most celebrated saints of Baghdād was born in 470 A H = 1077 -1078 A D He died in 561=1166 A D and the order of the *Kādiris* to which Dārā Shikūh belonged owes its existence to him Prof Margoliouth has given the salient points of his life in the *Encycl of Islam* vol I pp 41 42 see also *Nafahāt* N Lees ed pp 586-590 and Shams ul 'ulamā M Hidāyat Husain's *Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the Būhār Library* Calcutta p 132

38 Abū Madyan Shu'aib b al Husain al Andalūsi was born at Cautillana (Kautniyāna), a village near Seville According to Jāmi, Muhiuddin Ibn al Arabi received training at his hands He died in 594=1197-1198 A D or in 590 A H = 1193 A D as recorded in *Nafahāt* His Sūfistic doctrine may be summed up in the following verse which he is said to have often repeated, Say Allāh, and abandon all that is matter or is connected with it if thou desirest to attain the true goal' *Encyl of Islam* vol I, p 99 See *Nafahāt* p 473 *Safinat ul Awliyā* p 67

39 Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn al 'Arabi was born at Murcia in Spain, on July 28 1165 A D He is considered to be one of the greatest mystics of Islām Of his

after his flight from Mecca (621 A D) For details see the *Encycl of Islam*, Vol I pp 357, 358

[13] *Tabi'in* (or, "the followers") is in the language of the *Muhaddithin*, or the traditionists the title of those persons who met and conversed with one of the companions (*ashab*) of the Prophet

[14] Uwais al Karani the famous mystic was a contemporary of Prophet Muhammad who as recorded in *Tadhkirat ul Awliya* had asked Umar and 'Ali to give his i e Prophet s *murakka* to Uwais Accordingly 'Umar and Ali visited Uwais and gave him the cloak of the Prophet He died between A H 32 and 39 (cf *Khazinat ul Asfiya* vol ii, p 120) (For details see *Tadhkirat ul Awliya* ed Nicholson vol 1 pp 15–24 *Kashf ul Mahjub* pp 83 84 *Safinat ul Awliya*, pp 30 31 *Anwar ul Arifin* by Muh Husain, pp 147 148)

[15] In certain texts the name of Hanbal is given Abu Abdullah Ahmad b Hanbal known as Imam Hanbal the founder of the fourth school of Sunni Jurisprudence was born in A H 164 (= 780 A D) He was a favourite pupil of ash Shafi i and enjoys considerable reputation as a traditionist and theologian He stubbornly refused to subscribe to the new faith of al Mamun that the Kur an was created and thereby seriously endangered his life His death took place at Baghdad in 241 A H (= 855 A D) and it is said that 800 000 men and 60 000 women attended his funeral (For details see *Ibn Khallikan* de Slane s translation vol i, p 44 *Tadhkirat ul Awliya*, Nicholson, vol I, pp 214–219 *Khazinat ul Asfiya* vol I pp 61–66

[16] Dhun Nun Abul Fa id b Ibrahim al Misri whose real name was Thawban was a pupil of Malik b Anas He lived in Egypt and died at Ghira, in 245 A H = 860 A D He is well known for his piety and sanctity, and Jami records several instances of his miraculous acts His fame however mostly rests on the fact that Sufi doctrines were first explained and expressed by him (For details see *Nafahat* pp 32–37 *Tadhkirat ul Awliya* ed Nicholson vol I pp 114–134 *Safinat ul Awliya* pp 126 127 *Kashf ul Mahjub*, tr Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series) pp 100–103

[17] Fudail b Iyad with his *Kunnya* Abu 'Ali was a native of Kufa or as stated by some of Khurasan He is a celebrated early mystic of Islam and died on the 2nd Rabi I 187 A H (= 803 A D) For further particulars see *Nafahat* pp 38 39 *Tadhkirat ul Awliya*, ed Nicholson vol I 74–85 *Safinat ul Awliya*, pp 86 87 *Khazinat ul Asfiya* vol I pp 228–235 *Siyar ul Arifin* pp 24–29 *Kashf ul Mahjub* pp 97–100

[18] Ma ruf i Karkhi, with his *Kunnya* Abu Mahfuz was the teacher of Sari as Sakati At first he was a magician but with his father Firuz or Firuzan accepted Islam at the hands of Ali b Musa ar Rida He died at Baghdad on the 2nd or the 8th Muharram A H 200 For further particulars regarding his life and teachings see *Tadhkirat ul Awliya*, ed Nicholson, vol I pp 269–274, *Nafahat* pp 39–40 *Khazinat ul Asfiya* vol I, pp 76–78 *Sakinat ul Awliya* pp 35 36

[19] Ibrahim b Adham b Mansur b Yazid b Jabir (Abu Ishak) the famous mystic, was a native of Balkh where he is said to have ruled as king but subse

quently due to some sudden impulse is reported to have abdicated and adopted the life of an ascetic After his conversion to Ṣūfism Ibrāhīm went to Syria where he died between 160 and 166 A H (= 776–783 A D) For further particulars see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 85–106 *Nafaḥāt*, pp 42–44 *Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā* vol I pp 231–236 *Siyar ul Aqṭāb* pp 29–45 *Safīnat ul Awliyā* pp 86 87

20 Bishr b al Hārith b Abdur Raḥmān Hāfī with his *Kunnya* Abū Naṣr is one of the early mystics of Islām He was an inhabitant of Marv but passed most of his life at Baghdād where he died (according to *Nafaḥāt* p 50) on the 10th Muharram 227 A H (=842 A D) For details see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 106–114 *Nafaḥāt* pp 50 51 *Safīnat ul Awliyā* p 124 *Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā*, vol II pp 137 138

21 Sari as Saḳaṭi, with his *Kunnya* Abul Hasan was a disciple of Ma rūf Karkhi and the teacher of Junaid and other mystics of Baghdād He died (according to *Nafaḥāt* p 55) on the 3rd Ramaḍān 253 A H = (A D 868) For further particulars see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 274–284 *Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā* vol I pp 78–81, *Safīnat ul Awliyā* p 36

22 Abū Yazīd Taifūr b Isā b Ādam b Surūshān better known a Bāyazid al Bisṭāmi was a great mystic of Bisṭām He led the life of an ascetic and died in 261 A H (= 875 A D) or 264 (877–976 A D) His fame chiefly rests on his introducing the doctrine of *Fanā* in Muslim mysticism and is also reputed to be a "convinced pantheist His followers are designated after him as *Taifūriya* or *Bisṭāmiya* For further particulars see *Nafaḥāt* pp 59 60 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 134–179 *Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā*, vol I pp 519–522 *Safīnat ul Awliyā* pp 73 74

23 Abul Kāsim b Muhammad b al Junaid al Kharrāz al Kawārīri also known as *Sayyid ut ṭā ifa* and *Tā ūs ul Ulamā*, was a celebrated mystic of Baghdād He was a pupil of Abū Thawr who in his turn was a student of ash Shāfi i Junaid died at Baghdād in 297 A H (= 910 A D) and was buried beside his uncle, the well known Sari as Saḳaṭi His followers are called *Junaidis* For further reference see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol II, pp 5–39 *Nafaḥāt* pp 81–85 *Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā* vol I pp 81–86 *Safīnat ul Awliyā* pp 37–39

24 Abū Muhammad Sahl b Abdullāh b Yūnus a well known mystic, was born at Tustar (al Ahwāz) in 203 A H (=818 A D) He was a disciple of Dhun Nūn al Miṣri and a companion of Muhammad b Sawār his uncle Sahl died in exile at Baṣra in 283 A H (= 896 A D) His ' thousand sayings were collected by his pupil Muhammad b Sālim (d 297 A H =909 A D) His followers are called *Sahlis* For further particulars see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I, pp 251–268 *Kashf ul Mahjūb* tr Nicholson pp 139 140 and 195–210 *Nafaḥāt* pp 69–71 *Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā* vol II pp 162–164 *Safīnat ul Awliyā* pp 133 134

25 Abū Muhammad Ruwaim b Yazīd was a well known mystic of Baghdād and a disciple of Junaid In Jurisprudence he was a follower of Dā ūd i Isfahāni

Seeing"[1] The former, i e "*Nothing is like a likeness of Him*," is a reference to His Purity (*tanzīh*) and the latter, i e "*He is the Hearing, the Seeing*," is one to that of Resembling (*tashbīh*) This is the highest and the loftiest stage of Universality and Perfection which was reserved for that lord (Muhammad), Peace be on him So, our Prophet has encircled the whole world, from (the remotest corner of) the east to the (farthest end) of the west Now Pure (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship is void of Resembling (*tashbīhī*) Apostleship, while Resembling Apostleship (in its turn) is void of Pure Apostleship, but the "Uniting" (*jāmi*) Apostleship combines both *tanzīhī* and *tashbīhī* Apostleships, as contained in the Holy verse "*He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant* (*over all*) *and the Knower of hidden things*"[2] Similarly, Saintship is limited to the perfect ones of the sect in whose praise God the Most High, has said "*You are the best of the nations raised up for* (*the benefit of*) *men*,"[3] namely, they are the best of My followers who combine *tanzīh* and *tashbīh* Thus, in the time of our Prophet, May peace of God and salutation be on him there were, among the mystics, Abū Bakr[4] 'Umar,[5] 'Uthmān,[6] Ali,[7] Hasan[8] and Husain,[9] the Six *Bākī* (*Sitta i Bākiya*), the ten Congratulated (*'Ashara i Mubashshara*)[10] and the great ones of the *muhājirs*,[11] the *ansārs*[12] and the Sūfis

And in the time of the *Tābi'īn*[13] there were (saints) like Uwais i Karani[14] and others,[15] and in another period saints like Dhun Nūn al Misri[16], Fudail b 'Iyād[17], Marūf i Karkhi[18], Ibrāhim Adham[19], Bishr i Hāfi[20], Sari as Sakati[21], Bāyazid i Bistāmī[22], Ustād Abul Kāsim Junaidi[23], Sahl b 'Abdullāh at Tustari[24] Ruwaim[25], Abū Sa'id Kharrāz[26], Abul Hasan an Nūri[27] Ibrāhim Khawwās[28], Abū Bakr Shibli[29] Abū Bakr Wāsitī[30] and others of their type In another period there were Abū Sa'id Abul Khair[31], Shaikh ul Islām Khwāja Abdullāh Ansāri[32] Shaikh Ahmad i Jām[33], Muhammad Ma'shūk Tūsi[34], Ahmad Ghazzāli[35], and Abul Kāsim Gurgāni[36] In another period there were (saints) like my *pir* (spiritual guide) Shaikh Muhiuddin 'Abdul Kādir Jilāni[37], Abū 'Uthmān al Maghribi[38], Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn al 'Arabī[39], Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā[40] Shaikh Fariduddin '*Attār*[41] and Mawlānā Jalāluddin *Rūmī*[42] In another period there were Khwāja Mu'inuddin Chishti,[43] Khwāja Bahāuddin Nakshband[44], Khwāja Ahrār[45] and Mawlānā 'Abdur

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[1] *Kur'ān*, Ch XLII 11

[2] *Kur'ān* Ch LVII 3

[3] *Kur'ān* Ch III 109

Rahmān *Jāmī*[46] In another period there were (saints) like my Shaikh, the second Junaid, Shāh Mīr[47], my teacher Mīyān Bārī[48] my *Murshid* Mullā Shāh[49] Shāh Muhammad Dilrubā[50], Shaikh Taiyyib Sarhindī[51], and Bāwā Lāl Bairāgī[52]

(*Biographical Notes to Section XII*)

4 Abū Bakr Abdullāh (surnamed Atik) was the first orthodox Caliph who succeeded Prophet Muhammad in 632 A D He died on the 22nd Jamāda II 13 A H =23rd August 634 and was buried beside the Prophet

5 Umar b al Khattāb the second orthodox Caliph succeeded Abū Bakr in 13 A H (=634 A D) He ruled over the countries of Islām for ten years and was assassinated in 23 A H, (644 A D)

6 Uthmān b Affān the third orthodox Caliph succeeded Umar on the 1st Muharram 24 A H =7th November 644 A D and was assassinated by some conspirators on the 18th Dhul Hijja A H 35 = June 17th A D 656 He is called Dhun Nūrain or the possessor of two lights,' as he married two of the Prophet s daughters Rukayya and Umm i Kulthūm

7 Ali b Abi Tālib was the fourth orthodox Caliph He was a cousin and the son in law of the Prophet Muhammad and was among the first few who embraced Islām He became Caliph on the 25th Dhul Hijja 35 A H = June 23rd 656 A D and died on the 21st Ramadān 40 A H =27 January, 661 A D, as a result of wounds inflicted by Ibn i Muljam He is regarded by the Shi'as as the only lawful Caliph after the Prophet

8 Hasan the eldest son of Ali and a grandson of Prophet Muhammad was born in 3 A H He succeeded Ali as Caliph in 40 A D and after a rule of about six months abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiya He was however, poisoned by his wife Ja da in 49 A H

9 Husain the second son of 'Ali and a grandson of Prophet (through Fātima) was born in 4 A H He was the rightful successor of Mu āwiya but the latter nominated Yazid his son as successor who slew Husain under the most tragic circumstances at Karbalā in 61 A H The martyrdom of Husain is mourned every year by the whole Muslim world and more specially, by the Shi as from the 1st to the 10th of Muharram

10 *Ashara i Mubashshara* or the ten who received the glad tidings is the title given to ten of the most eminent companions (*ashāb*) of the Prophet whose entry into Paradise was foretold by Muhammad They are Abū Bakr 'Umar Uthmān Ali, Talha b az Zubair Abdur Rahmān Sa d b Abi Wakkās, Sa id b Zaid, Abū 'Ubaida b al Jarrāh

11 The *Muhājirin* is the title given to those believers who emigrated to Medina from Mecca

12 *al Ansār*, (lit the helpers) or more explicitly speaking, *Ansār un Nabi*, is the title given to those ' believers of Medina who received and assisted the Prophet

they call *um*[1], *Hū* (He) they call *sah*[2] and they designate *Firishta* (i e angel) as *divatā*[3], in their language The perfect manifestation' (*mazhar i atam*) is called *awtār*[4], through whom the Majesty of God is manifested in such a way as would not be manifested in any other individual of his class, in that particular period *Wahī* (Divine Revelation) which dawns on the Prophets, is called *akās bānī*[5], and this name (*akās bānī*) is given to it for the reason that our Prophet, may peace be on him, has said the severest moment for me is that of *Wahī* (or, Divine Revelation), when I hear *Wahī* ringing in my ears like the sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps, so this voice, descending from heaven, is called *akās bānī* They call the Heavenly Books *Ved*, and the beautiful ones of the *jins* (Genii), who are the *paris* are called *anchrānt*[6], while the evil ones, who are the demons and the devils, are called *rāchas*[7] *Manukh*[8], according to them, are the human beings, while *rikhi*[9] is a mystic and *mahā sudh*[10], an Apostle

XII Discourse on Apostleship and Saintship (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*)

Apostles may be divided into three classes *first*, those who might have beheld God either with the outer or the inner eyes, *secondly*, those

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1 *Om* "O m a mystic monosyllable or ejaculation by Hindus which is supposed to be uttered in place of naming the Supreme Being Hindus from its awful and sacred meaning hesitate to pronounce His name aloud, and place one of their hands before their mouths and say O m ! A Brahman beginning or ending a lecture of the Veda (or the recital of any holy strain) must always pronounce to himself the syllable O m From various passages in Asiatic Researches, Mr Colebrooke and other authorities think it may be collected that A O M or A U M is interpreted to signify Brahm, the Supreme Being under his three great attributes of the creator the preserver and the destroyer the letters standing in succession for the attributes as they are described O'm is also supposed to express the words of the gaytri a passage in the Vēda which is imparted to the youthful Brahman at his initiation into the mysteries of his faith O'm (A U M) is also imagined to be a monogram of the triad the initials of Aditi Varma, and Mitra ' (*Cycl of India*, Vol iii p 21) 2 *Sah* 3 *Devatā* 4 *Avatāra*

5 *Ākāśavānī* 6 *Apsaras* 7 *Rakṣas* 8 *Manuṣya* 9 *Ṛṣi*

10 The word *Mahā Sudh* is phonetically equivalent to *Mahā Śuddha* or, ' highly pure which is hardly an epithet for an Apostle

who might have heard the voice of God either sound only or sound, composed of words; *thirdly* those who might have seen the angels or heard their voice

Now, Apostleship and Saintship is of *three* kinds (1) Pure (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship, (2) Resembling (*tas͟hbīhī*) Apostleship and (3) a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleships

First, Pure (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship, like which was the Apostleship of Noah, May peace be on him who beheld God in purity (*tanzīh*) and invited people (to embrace his religion) but, except a few, they did not accept his faith, on account of his (*tanzīh*) ('pure beholding'), and (as a result), were sunk in the ocean of destruction Similarly, the divines of our day invite disciples to a 'pure beholding' of God but none of those disciples ever attains the stage of an *'Ārif*, nor is he benefited by their discourses and, dying on the way of *Sulūk* (journey) and *Tarīkat* (Path)[ā] never reaches God

Secondly, Resembling (*tas͟hbīhī*) Apostleship, like the Apostleship of Moses, May peace be on him who saw God Himself in the fire of the tree and heard words from the clouds A large section of the followers of Moses, having become Anthropomorphists, began worshipping the cow and committed sin Now a days, some of our followers (*mukallidīn*) whose only profession in life is (blind) following, having fallen aside from purity (*tanzīh*), have been sunk in Anthropomorphism, and, as such indulge in seeing handsome and attractive faces and (pass their time) in playing and toying One should never follow such persons

Verses

"Every heart attracting face that thou beholdest,
The sky will soon remove it from before thy eyes,
Go, and give thy heart to one, who in the circle of existence,
Has remained always with thee and will so continue to be"

Thirdly a combination of Pure (*tanzīhī*) and Resembling (*tas͟hbīhī*) Apostleships, like the Apostleship of Muhammad, May peace be on him and salutation, who joined together the Absolute (*mutlak*) and the Determined (*mukayyad*), the Colourless and the coloured, the Near and the Distant There is a reference to this very dignity, in the Holy verse "*Nothing is like a likeness of Him, and He is the Hearing, the*

meaning and wording of the tradition—in which 'Ā'isha Siddika[1] asked Prophet (Muhammad), Peace be on him, "Didst thou behold thy Lord ?" to which the Prophet replied, "It is light that I am beholding" —have read it as نور انى اراه "It is Light, how can I behold it ?" But this (tradition) cannot be an argument against beholding God, for if we put the former interpretation it will refer to His "complete beholding" (*rūyat i tām*) in the veil of Light but, if we interpret it as, 'It is Light, how can I behold it ?,' it will refer to His Pure and Colourless Self So, it is not a difference in the context but rather a manifestation of the miracle of (our) Prophet who has explained two problems in one tradition And the Holy verse "(*Some*) *faces on that day shall be bright, Looking to their Lord*"[2] is a clear argument in favour of *rūyat* (Beholding), of our Lord Exalted is His Dignity, (while) the verse '*Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision and He is the knower of subtilities, the Aware*"[3] refers to his colourlessness, that is, the eye cannot behold Him in his Colourless and Absolute capacity, although He beholds all and possesses extreme elegance and colourlessness And, the word *huwa* (He), found in the above Holy verse, refers to the invisibility of His Pure Self Now the beholding of God is of *five* kinds *first*, in dream with the eyes of heart, *secondly*, beholding Him with the ordinary eyes, *thirdly*, beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness, which is a special kind of Selflessness, *fourthly*, (beholding Him) in (a stage of) special determination, *fifthly*, beholding the One Self in the multitudinous determinations of the internal and external worlds In such a way beheld our Prophet, may peace be on him, whose 'self' had disappeared from the midst and the beholder and the beheld had merged in one and his sleep wakefulness and selflessness looked as one and his internal and the external eyes had become one unified whole—such is

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[1] Ā'isha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, was born between 613 and 614 A D She was the daughter of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, and was married to the Prophet in 623 A D She died on the 17th Ramadān, 58 A H, 13th July, 678 A D 'Ā'isha occupies a prominent place amongst the most distinguished traditionists 1210 traditions are recorded as having been reported by her direct from the mouth of the Prophet She was often consulted on theological and juridicial subjects ' (*Encycl of Islam* Vol I pp 216 217)

[2] *Kur'ān* Ch LXXV 22, 23 [3] *Kur'ān*, Ch VI 104

the state of perfect *rūyat*[1] (Beholding), which is not confined either to this or the next world and is possible everywhere and at every period

XI Discourse on the Names of God, the Most High (*Asmāi Allāh Ta'ālā*)

Know that the names of God, the Most High are numberless and beyond comprehension In the language of the Indian divines, the Absolute, the Pure, the Hidden of the hidden and the Necessary Self is known as *asan*[2] *turgun*[3] *nirankār*[4] *niranjan*[5] *sat*[6] and *chit*[7] If knowledge is attributed to Him, the Indian divines designate Him as *chitan*[8], while the Muslims call Him *'Alīm* (Knowing) For *Al Hak* (the Truth) they have (the word) *anant*[9], for *Kādir* (the Powerful) they have *samarth*[10] for *Samī'* (the Hearkener) they have *sarutā*[11] and for *Basīr* (the Beholder) they have *drashtā*[12] If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him *waktā*[13], *Allāh* (God)

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1 Dārā Shikūh has discussed in some detail, the question of *Rūyat* or the vision of God, in his *Sakinat ul Awliyā*, pp 60–66 He has quoted many authorities in support of his argument, which it is unnecessary to discuss here I may however give a brief summary of the introductory remarks made by Dārā Shikūh

One day I asked Miyān Jiv that it is stated in *Nihāya i Jazari* that Ibn i Shakil told Abū Dhar i Ghaffāri Had I seen Prophet Muhammad I must have asked him as to whether he saw God or not Abū Dhar i Ghaffāri replied I had enquired of Prophet, but he replied '*Nūr un anna arāhu*" i e He is Light I cannot see Him anyhow But mark that verbal play (*Tajnis i Khatti*) in the above sentence for, it may also mean, It is light that I am beholding

Now Hadrat Mīyān Jiv told Dārā Shikuh that if the first interpretation is put on the words of the Prophet, then it will refer to the Pure Self and such beholding is an impossibility even for the Prophets but if the second interpretation is put, then it means that He can be seen when he descends and appears in veil or guise Dārā Shikūh has summed up his views on the subject of *Rūyat* in the following quatrain which I quote from his *Sakinat ul Awliyā* (p 61)

Those who will behold God in that (Future) time,
Know that at first they behold Him in this world
The vision of God is identical whether in this or the next (world),
Every moment they see Him, open and secretly "

2 *Asanga* (?) 3 *Triguna* 4 *Nirākāra*
5 *Niranjana* 6 *Sattua* 7 *Cit*
8 *Cetana* 9 *Ananta* 10 *Samartha*
11 *Srotā* 12 *Drastā* 13 *Vyakta*

ed, says, in defining soul, that the 'glass' of soul is so luminous that it need not be touched with the fire of the Human World (*nār i nāsūt*) and it is imminent that, on account of its inherent potency, it may, automatically, be illumined This light of *Zait* (olive oil) is "light upon light" (*nūr un 'alā nūr*), which signifies that, on account of its extreme purity and brightness, it is light full of light, and no one can behold Him with this light, unless He guides (and directs) him with the Light of His unity So the main purport of a combination of all these verses is that God, the Most High and Holy, is manifest, with the Light of His Essence, in elegant and refulgent curtains and there is no veil or darkness concealing Him Now, the Light of (His) Essence is manifest in the curtain of Soul of Souls (*Abul Arwāh*), the Soul of Souls in the curtain of Soul (*Rūh*) and the Soul in the curtain of Body—(exactly) in the manner in which the 'lamp' is luminous and manifesting itself within the cover of 'glass', the glass being placed in a niche (*tākcha*), deriving its illumination from the Light of His Essence and thus adding light to light (*nūr un 'alā nūr*)

X Discourse on the Vision of God (*Rūyat*)

The Indian monotheists call the Vision of God, *Sāchātkār* [1], that is, to see God with the (ordinary) eyes of the forehead Know that the Vision of God, either by the Prophets, may peace be on them, or by the perfect divines, may their souls be sanctified, whether in this or the next world and whether with the outer or the inner eyes cannot be doubted or disputed, and the "men of the Book" (*ahl i kitāb*), the perfect divines and the seers of all religions—whether they are believers in the Kur'ān, the Vedas, the Book of David or the Old and the New Testaments—have a (common) faith in this respect Now, one who disbelieves the beholding of God is a thoughtless and sightless member of his community, the reason being if the Holy Self is Omnipotent, how can He not have the potency to manifest Himself? This matter has been explained very clearly by the '*Ulamā* of the Sunni Sect But, if it is said, that (even) the Pure Self (*dhāt i baht*) can be beheld, it is an impossibility, for the Pure Self is elegant and undetermined, and, as He cannot be determined, He is manifest in the veil of elegance only, and as such cannot be beheld, and such beholding is an impossibility And the sug

[1] *Sākṣātkāra*

gestion that He can be beheld in the next and not in this world, is groundless, for if He is Omnipotent, He is potent to manifest Him self in any manner anywhere and at any time He likes (I hold) that one who cannot behold Him here (i e, in this world) will hardly behold Him there (i e in the next world), as He has said in the Holy verse '*And whoever is blind in this he shall (also) be blind in the hereafter*"[1]

The *Mu'tazila*[2] and the *Shi'a*[3] doctors, who are opposed to *rūyat* (Beholding), have committed a great blunder in this matter for had they only denied the capability of beholding the Pure Self, there would have been some justification, but their denial of all forms of *ruyat* (i e Beholding) is a great mistake, the reason being that most of the Prophets and perfect divines have beheld God with their ordinary eyes and have heard His Holy words without any intermediary and, now, when they are, by all means capable of hearing the words of God, why should they not be capable of beholding Him? Verily, they must be so, and, just as it is obligatory to have faith in God, the Angels, the (revealed) Books, the Prophets, the Destiny, the Good and the Evil, and the Holy Places, etc, so it is obligatory and incumbent to have faith in *rūyat* (Beholding) The unversed Sunni '*Ulamā* who have disputed the

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[1] *Kur'ān*, Ch XVII 72

[2] '*Mu'tazala* (lit the separatists) a sect of Muhammadans founded by Wāsil ibn Atā who separated from the school of Hasan al Basri (A H 110) The following are their chief tenets They entirely reject all eternal attributes of God They believe the word of God to have been created in subjects They deny all vision of God in Paradise by the corporeal eye and reject all comparisons and similitudes applied to God During the reigns of the Abbaside Khalifas al Māmūn, al Mu'tasim and al Wāthik (A H 198–228) at Baghdād the *Mu'tazala* were in great favour' (Hughes *Dictionary of Islam* p 425)

[3] *Shi a* (*lit* followers') is the name given to the followers" of 'Ali and his descendants through Fatima the daughter of Prophet Muhammad They consider Abū Bakr 'Umar and Uthmān, the first three orthodox Caliphs as usurpers and regard Ali and his eleven descendants as the only rightful *Imāms* or *Khalifas* They are also called *Ithnā asharīya* or *twelveans* as they believe in twelve Imāms, namely Ali al Hasan, al Husain Ali, surnamed Zain ul Ābidin, Muhammad al Bākir Ja far as Sādik Mūsā al Kāzim, ar Ridā Muhammad at Taki, 'Ali an Nakī, al Hasan al 'Askari Muhammad al Mahdi (who is supposed to re appear before the day of judgment)

eternal and is (also) the source of the perception of *mahā akās*, but this sound is inaudible to all, except the great saints of both the communities *Secondly, Āhat*[1], or the sound which originates from the striking of one thing against another, without its (i e sound's) combination into words *Thirdly, Sabd*[2], or the sound which emanates together with its formation into words *Sabd* possesses an affinity with *Sarasti* and is (further) the source of *Ism i A'zam*[3] (or, the Great name) of the Musalmāns and the *Bidmukh*[4], or *Om*[5], of the Hindu divines *Ism i A'zam* means that He is the possessor of the three attributes of Creation, Preservation and Destruction, and *Fatha*, *Dhamma* and *Kasra*, which correspond with *akār*[6] *ukār*[7] and *makār*[8] have also originated from this (i e *Ism i A'zam*) They (i e the Indian divines) assign a special symbol to this sound, which bears a close resemblance to our *Ism i A'zam* and, in which, traces of the elements of water, fire air and dust and of the Pure Self are manifest

IX Discourse on Light (*Nūr*)

Light (*nūr*) is of three kinds, if it is manifested with the attribute of *Jalāl* (Majesty), it is either sun coloured, ruby coloured, or fire coloured and, if manifested with the attribute of *Jamāl* (Beauty), it is either moon coloured, pearl coloured or water coloured and (lastly) comes the Light of the Essence which is devoid of all (such) attributes, and is not manifested to any one, except the Holy men in whose favour God (the Most High and Holy) has declared "*Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases*"[9]

This is the Light which appears (at the time) when a man, either in sleep or with the eyes closed, neither beholds anything with his eyes nor hears with his ears nor speaks with his tongue nor smells with his nose nor feels with his sense of touch, and, as a matter of fact, performs all these functions in sleep, with only *one* faculty and does not require the aid of, either the limbs, the external faculties or the light of a lamp, and the senses of sight, hearing taste, smell and touch

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[1] *Āhata* [2] *Sabda*

[3] *Ism i A zam* literally means the great name and undoubtedly refers to *one* out of the ninety nine names of God but as to which of them in particular it refers is unsettled Some identify it with *al Hayy ul Kayyūm* and others with *ar Rahmān* and *ar Rahīm* [4] *Veda mukha* [5] *Om* (see foot note on p 18)

[6] *Akāra* [7] *Ukāra* [8] *Makāra* [9] *Kurān* Ch XXIV 35

become merged in one—such is the Light of Essence, or, in other words, the Light of God Exalted is His Dignity! O my friend! reflect on what I have said, as it is a matter of discernment and meditation And, the Prophet of God may His blessings and peace be on him, has said in praise of this reflection that, "A moment's engagement in meditation is better than the devotion of a whole year"[1] i e, of the human beings and the fairies Now, the 'Light' discernible from the Holy verse "*Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earths,*"[2] is called *jun surūp*[3], *savāpārakās*[4], and *sapanparakās*[5] by the Hindus, which (Light) is always effulgent by itself, whether appearing in the world or not Accordingly, the Sūfis have explained *nūr* (Light) by the word *munawwar* (Illumined), and the Hindus also have explained in the same manner The Holy verse on this point is, as follows "*Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earth, a likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, (and) the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive tree neither eastern nor western the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touches it not—light upon light—Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases*"[6]

But, what this *fakīr* has understood, (from the above mentioned verse), is that *Mishkāt* (or niche) applies to the world of bodily existence, *Misbāh* (or, the lamp) to the Light of the Essence and *Shīsha* (or glass) to the (human) soul which is like a shining star and that, on account of this lamp (*misbāh*), the *Shīsha* (or, glass) also appears like a lamp (or *Misbāh*) And "*That lamp is lit,*" applies to the Light of the Essence, while the "*Sacred tree*" (*Shajar i Mubārak*) refers to the Self of the Truth, Holy and Exalted is He, who is free from the limitations of the East and the West By *Zait* (olive oil) is meant "the Great Soul" (*Rūh i A'zam*), which is neither of Eternity past nor of Eternity to come, in that the *Zait* is luminous and resplendent by itself, for the reason that it possesses great elegance and purity and does not require to be lighted Consequently, Ustād Abū Bakr Wāsitī[7], may he be bless-

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[1] *Hadith* Dārā has quoted this Hadith on p 52 of his *Sakinat ul Awliyā*

[2] *Kurān*, Ch XXIV 35 [3] *Jyotih Svarūpa* [4] *Svaprakāśa*

[5] *Svapnaprakāśa* [6] *Kurān* Ch XXIV 35

[7] Muhammad b Mūsā called Abū Bakr al Wāsitī, was a companion of Junaid and Nūrī He died at Marv sometime before 320 A H According to Shaikh ul Islām he was the *Imām* of *Tawhid* (Divine Unity) See *Nafahāt* pp 170 171 and *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, (edited by R A Nicholson), pp 265–281

Sakhūpat [1] and *Turyā* [2] (Of these), (1) *Jāgart* is identical with *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World), which is the world of manifestation and wakefulness (2) *Sapan*, which is identified with *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World), is the world of souls and dreams, (3) *Sakhūpat* is identical with *Jabarūt* (or the Highest World), in which the traces of both the worlds disappear and the distinction between "I" and "Thou" vanishes—whether you see it with your eyes open or closed There are many devotees of both the communities who have no information regarding this world Accordingly, Sayyid ut tā'ifa, Ustād Abul Kāsim,[3] (May his soul rest in sanctity) has informed us that he said, "*Tasawwuf* consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant' The Shaikh ul Islām [4] asked "What does 'without an attendant' mean?" He explained '(It means) finding without seeking and beholding without seeing, for the (employment of) eyes in beholding (God) is an infirmity So 'sitting without an attendant means that the marks of the Human World ('*ālam i nāsūt*) and of the Invisible World ('*ālam i malakūt*) may not enter the mind (of the beholder)' And, Mawlānā i Rūm, (May God hallow his grave), has also hinted at the same point

> "If thou desirest to find him, then do not seek for a moment
> (And) if thou wishest to know Him then do not know for a moment
> When thou seekest Him secretly thou art far from His manifestation,
> And when thou seekest Him openly, thou art hidden from His secrets

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1 *Susupti* 2 *Turiya*

3 Abul Kāsim b Muhammad b al Junaid al Kharrāz al Kawārīri the great mystic of Baghdād was a nephew of Sari as Sakati and a pupil of ash Shāfi i He died at Baghdād in 297 A H (910 A D) See Jāmi s *Nafahāt* p 81 The saying ascribed here to Junaid is quoted with Shaikh ul Islām's explanation, on p 82 of Jāmi s *Nafahāt* It appears that Dārā himself considered the above 'saying as very important, for in three of his works i e *Risāla i Haq Numā* (p 21), *Hasanāt ul Ārifīn* (fol 18 b of A S B copy No III 10) and *Sakinat ul Awliyā* (p 16 of Urdū translation), he quotes that in full

4 Shaikh ul Islām Abū Ismā il Abdullāh b Muhammad al Ansārī al Harawī was born on the 2nd Sha bān 396 A H (1006 A D) He is the author of several Ṣūfi works but his fame mainly rests on his extremely popular *Munājāt* His lectures on the life and doctrines of the Ṣūfis, which were embodied in a book and entitled *Tabakāt i Abdullāh Ansārī* form one of the main sources of Jāmi s *Nafahāt* (For details see J A S B 1922 pp 385–391) He died in 481 A H (1088 A D)

And when thou comest out of the hidden and the manifest so, undoubtedly,
Stretch thy legs and sleep comfortably in His protection

(Now) (4) *Turyā* is identical with *Lāhūt*, (or, the World of Divinity), which is (identical with) Pure Existence encircling, including and covering all the worlds If a person journeys from the *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World) to the *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World) and from *Malakūt* to the *Jabarūt* (or the Highest World) and from this last to the *Lāhūt* (or, the World of Divinity), this will be considered as a progress on his part But if the Truth of Truths, whom the Indian monotheists call *avasan*[1], descends from the stage of *Lāhūt* (or Divinity) to that of *Malakūt* (Invisibility) and thence to *Jabarūt* (or, the Highest Heaven), His journey terminates in *Nāsūt* (or, the World of Humanity) And the fact that certain Sūfīs have described the stages of descent as four while others as five, is a reference to this (very) fact

VIII DISCOURSE ON SOUND (*Āwāz*)

Sound emanates from the same breath of the Merciful which came out with the word *Kun*[2], (or, Be), at the time of the creation (of the universe) The Indian divines call that sound *Sarasti*, which, (they say), is the source of all other sounds voices, and vibrations

'Whenever thou hearest it is His melodious voice
Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound ?'

According to the Indian monotheists, this sound, which is called *Nād*, is of three kinds *First*, *Anāhat*,[3] which has been in Eternity Past, is so at Present, and will be so in Future The Sūfīs name this sound *Āwāz i Mutlak* (or, the sound of the Absolute), or *Sultān ul Adhkār*[4] (i e the Sultān of all devotional exercises) This (sound) is

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[1] *Avasāna* (ultimate)

[2] According to Muhammadan belief, the world owes its origin to the Will of God which was expressed by the word *Kun* or, Be So runs the Holy verse *Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth and when He decrees an affair he only says to it, Be so there it is* (*Kur'ān Ch II* 117)

[3] *Anāhata*

[4] *Sultān ul Adhkār*—Among the Sūfīs there is a peculiar exercise of the 'tuition of the breath' called *Sultān ul Adhkār* It is said to be even more difficult than *Shaghl i Pās i Anfās* which has been discussed before

according to Indian devotees, there are three attributes (of God), collectively called *trigun* [1], or *sat* [2], *raj* [3] and *tam* [4] which mean Creation, Duration, and Destruction, the Sūfīs (on the other hand), viewing, and accepting the quality of Duration as the attribute of Beauty (or, *Jamāl*) But as these attributes are included in one another, the Indian devotees name them *trimūrat* [5], or *Barhmā* [6], *Bishun* [7] and *Mahīsh* [8], who are identical with *Jibra'il*, *Mīkā'īl* and *Isrāfil* of Sūfi phraseology *Barhmā*, or *Jibra'il*, is the (superintending) angel of Creation, *Bishun*, or *Mīkā'il*, is the angel of Duration (or Existence) *Mahīsh*, or *Isrāfil* is the angel of Destruction Now, water, wind and fire are also allied with these (superintending) angels—thus water goes with *Jibra'il* fire with *Mīkā'il* and air with *Isrāfil* and these three things (i e water, fire and air) are manifest in all living beings Thus, *Barhmā* who appears as the water (or moisture) of the tongue, is the cause of Divine utterance and is (further) the source of the power of speech, *Bishun*, who is (like) fire in the eyes is the source of light refulgence and eye sight, *Mahīsh*, who is the air in the nostrils, is instrumental in creating the two blowing horns, namely the two breaths which, if cut off (or stopped), lead to death

Now, *trigun*, which constitutes the three Divine attributes of Creation, Duration and Destruction, is manifested through *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahish*, whose attributes (in their turn) are manifest in all the creations of the world (Thus), when a creature is born, it lives for an appointed period and then it is annihilated *Shakt*, or the potential power of the (above) three attributes is called *tridivī* [9] Now *trimūrat* [10] gave birth to *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh*, while *tirdivī* was the mother of these three *Sarasti* [11], *Pārbatī* [12] and *Lachmī* [13] (Of the latter) *Sarasti* is connected with *Rajūgun* [14] and *Barhmā*, *Pārbatī* with *Tamūgun* [15] and *Mahish* and *Lachmi* with *Satūgun* [16] and *Bishun*

V Discourse on the Soul (*Rūh*)

The soul is of two kinds (i) a (common) soul and (ii) the Soul of souls (*Abul Arwāh*), which are called *ātmā* and *paramātmā*, respectively, in the

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[1] *Triguna* [2] *Sattva* [3] *Rajas* [4] *Tamas*
[5] *Trimūrti* [6] *Brahmā* [7] *Visnu* [8] *Mahesvara*
[9] *Tridevi* [10] *Trimūrti* [11] *Sarasvati* [12] *Pārvati*
[13] *Lakṣmi* [14] *Rajoguna* [15] *Tamoguna* [16] *Satvaguna*

phraseology of the Indian divines When the 'Pure Self' (*Dhāt i Baht*) becomes determinate and fettered either in respect of purity or impurity, He is known as *rūh* (soul), or *ātmā* in His elegant aspect and *jasd* (body), or *sarir*,[1] in His inelegant aspect And the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as *Rūh i A'zam* (or the Supreme Soul) and is said to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being Now, the Soul in which all the souls are included is known as *paramātmā* or *Abul-Arwāh* (i e the Soul of Souls) The inter relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that between *sarīr* and *ātmā* The combination of waves in their complete aspect, may (very aptly) be likened to *Abul Arwāh* or *paramātmā* while water only is (just) like the August Existence or *sudh*[2] or *chitan*

VI Discourse on the Air (*Bād*)

As the air, which moves within the human body, remains in five places, so, it has got five names, namely *parān*,[4] *apān*,[5] *samān*,[6] *udān*[7] and *vayān*[8] (1) *Parān* which is the movement of air from the nostrils up to the toes, possesses the characteristic of breathing (2) *Apān*, whose movement is from the buttocks up to the special organ, is encircling the navel, and is moreover, the cause of life (3) *Samān* moves inside the breast and the navel (4) *Udān* moves from the throat up to the top of the brain (or, *the duramater*) (5) (Lastly), *Vayān*, (is that air) which is penetrating everything, whether manifest or hidden

VII Discourse on the Four Worlds ('*Awālim i Arba'a*)

According to certain Sūfis, the worlds, through which all the created beings must needs pass, are four in number, (that is), *Nāsūt* (the Human World), *Malakūt* (the Invisible World), *Jabarūt* (the Highest World) and *Lāhūt* (the Divine World) but according to others, they are five in all—the World of Similitude (*'ālam i mithāl*) being added to them And those who consider the world of Similitude as identical with the Invisible world, regard them (i e the worlds) as consisting of four only According to the Indian divines the *Avasthāt*,[9] which term applies to these four worlds, consists of four (only), namely, *Jāgart*[10] *Sapan*,[11]

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[1] *Sarira* [2] *S'uddha* [3] *Cetana* [4] *Prāna* [5] *Apāna* [6] *Samāna*
[7] *Udāna* [8] *Vyāna* [9] *Avasthātman* [10] *Jāgrat* [11] *Svapna*

of *paramātmā* for the reason that it possesses *māyā*, which in their phraseology, is the name given to 'love'[1] Now *Ahankār* again is subdivided into three *Sātag*, *Rājas*,[3] and *Tāmas*[4] First, *Ahankār Sātag*, or *Gayān Surūp*,[5] is the high stage when *param ātmā* says "Whatever there is is I"—such is the stage of complete encircling of everything 'Now surely He encompasses all things'[6] Another (Holy Verse) says *He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things*"[7] Secondly, *Ahankār Rājas*, is *maddhim*[8] namely the middle stage when (a religious devotee) having fixed his eyes on *jiv ātmān*[9] says "My self is free from (the limitations of) body and elements, and corporeality has no access to me' '*Nothing is like a likeness of Him*"[10] (And) '*Then surely Allāh is Self sufficient, above any need of the worlds*"[11] *Thirdly, Ahankār Tāmas* is *adham*,[12] or the low stage of *awiddiyā*,[13] namely of servitude to the August Self and its inferiority is due to the fact that a man on account of his great degradation, limitation and subjectivity attributes folly ignorance and carelessness to himself and having an eye on his sense existence speaks out in such a manner that, as a result of it 'I and Thou" are rent apart from their point of unity '*Say I am only a mortal like you*"[14] Consequently, *Bashist*[15] says that when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into *param ātmā* immediately on His thinking of it, and, on the increase of this determination, the stage of *ahankār* was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of *mahātat*[16] or "'*Akl i Kul*' (*Perfect Wisdom*) Now, *man*[17] or mind which is also styled *parakarti*,[18] was created from *sankalp*[19] and *mahātat*, and from *sankalp man*, the five *Gayān i Indrī*[20], namely, (the senses of) smell, touch seeing hearing and taste were created, and from a combination of *sankalp* and the five *Gayān i Indri*, the limbs and bodies were created,

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[1] I am told by certain Sanskrit scholars that *māyā* does not mean 'love' as stated by Dārā Shikūh but it means the inscrutable power of *paramātmā* which produces appearances

[2] *Sattva* [3] *Rājas* [4] *Tamas* [5] *Jnānasvarūpa*

[6] *Kur'ān* Ch XLI 54 [7] *Kur'ān*, Ch LVII 3 [8] *Madhyama*

[9] *Jivātman* [10] *Kur'ān* Ch XLII 11 [11] *Kur'ān* Ch III 96

[12] *Adhama* [13] *Avidyā* [14] *Kur'ān* Ch XVIII 110 [15] *Vaśiṣṭha*

[16] *Mahattatva* [17] *Manas* [18] *Prakṛti* [19] *Samkalpa* [20] *Jnānendriya*

which, in their combined form are named *badan*, or body So, *Param ātmā*—who is called *Abul Arwāh* has enforced by His Own will all these limitations on Himself and has tied Himself to these, and, just as a silk worm, having brought out threads of silk from its own spittle, confines itself to them, so our Lord has created all these imaginary limitations for Himself and has confined Himself to them, or just as the seed of a tree having produced a plant out of itself, enters the tree and remains in the branches and the leaves and the flowers of the tree, (so our Lord has confined Himself in this world) Thus, know and be mindful (of the fact) that before its creation, this world of ours was concealed in His Self and now His Holy Self is concealed in the world[1]

III DISCOURSE ON THE DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES (*Ashghāl*)

Although, according to the Indian monotheists, there are several kinds of devotional exercises, yet they regard *ajpā*[2] as the best of all This exercise originates from every living being, both in sleep and wakefulness, without any will or control, at every moment—and always Consequently, the Holy verse, "*And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification*"[3], refers to this very fact The incoming and outgoing of breath have been interpreted in two words—the breath that comes out is called *U* (او *i e* He) and the breath that goes in is named *Man* (من *i e* I), and (their combination) "*Ū manam*" (او منم) means "He is I" The Sūfis consider their occupation in these two words as *Hū Allāh* (*i e* He is God)—*Hū* appearing while the breath comes in and *Allāh* when it goes out And these words are being uttered by every living being, without his being conscious of the fact

IV DISCOURSE ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, THE MOST HIGH (*Sifāt i Allāh Ta'ālā*)

According to the Sūfis, there are the two divine attributes of Beauty (*Jamāl*) and Majesty (*Jalāl*), which encircle the whole creation while,

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[1] Cf Sa'duddin Mahmūd Shabistari's *Gulshan i Rāz*, where he says "Is not, after all, the Necessary Being a part of Existence? For (now) Existence has concealed His Self!"

[2] *Ajapā*

[3] *Kur'an*, Ch XVII 44

(Quite) unaware was I that this limitless ocean would be such,
That its vapour would turn out to be the sky and its foam would become the earth

Next

An egg like drop heaved and was turned into an ocean,
Its foam produced the earth and its smoke gave rise to the sky

And, as against this on the day of the Great Resurrection, which the Indians call *mahā parl* [1], the dust will be destroyed first, being swallowed by water, water being dried up by fire fire being extinguished by air and air being merged in *mahā akās* [2] together with *Rūh i A'zam* (or, the Great Soul')

"*Everything is perishable but His face (i e He)* [3]' (And) "*Every one on it must pass away And there will endure the face (i e the person) of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour* [4]" So, the exception of *wajh* (or His face) found in the above two verses, which purport to deal with the destruction of everything, points (unmistakably) to *mahā akās*, which does not admit of annihilation And had it not been so, He would have said "Everything is to be annihilated except *Him*", but the specification of 'face' (found in the above verse) cannot but apply to *mahā akās* which constitutes the fine body of the Holy Self Now, in the Indian language earth is called *dhri*, from which everything has been created and unto which everything will return, and, as stated in the Holy verse, "*From it We created you and into it We shall send you back and from it will We raise you a second time* [5]"

II DISCOURSE ON THE SENSES (*Hawās*)

Corresponding to these five elements, there are five senses called *Panj Indri* [6], in the Indian language They are (1) *Shāmma* (smelling), (2) *Dhā'ika* (tasting), (3) *Bāsira* (seeing), (4) *Sāmi'a* (hearing) and (5) *Lāmisa* (touching), which are called *gahrān* [7], *rasnā* [8], *chachh* [9] *sarutar* [10] and *tvak* [11] respectively, in the Indian language, and their qualities of perception are named *gandh* [12], *ras* [13], *rūp* [14], *sabd* [15] and *spars* [16] Each

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[1] *Mahāpralaya* [2] *Mahākāsa* [3] *Kur ān* Chapt XXVIII 88
[4] *Kur'ān* Chapt LV 26 [5] *Kur ān*, Chapt XX 55 [6] *Pañca indriyāni*
[7] *Ghrāna* (nose) [8] *Rasanā* (tongue) [9] *Caksuh* (eye)
[10] *Srotra* (ear) [11] *Tvak* (skin) [12] *Gandha* (smell)
Rasa (taste) [14] *Rūpa* (colour) [15] *S'abda* (sound) [16] *Sparśa* (touch)

of these five senses is of the same genus as one of those elements and is also allied to them Thus, the sense of smell is allied with dust, for the reason that none of the elements, except dust, possesses smell which is perceived only by *Shāmma* (or, the sense of smelling) *Dhā'ika*, (or, the sense of taste), is connected with water—(the taste of) water being perceived with our tongue, *Bāsira*, (or, the sense of sight) is connected with fire and, as such colour is perceived by the eyes only while luminosity is present in both, *Lāmisa*, (or, the sense of touch), is connected with air as the perception of all tangible things is through the air (finally), *Sāmi'a*, (or, the sense of hearing) is connected with 'the great element' (*'Unsur i A'zam*) namely *mahā akās* [1], through whose instrumentality we hear sounds And it is through the sense of hearing that the real essence of *mahā akās* is manifested to the religious devotees (*Ahl i Dil*), only while no one else can realise it Such exercise is common to the Sūfis and the Indian monotheists the former naming it, *Shaghl-i Pās i Anfās* [2], (or, the exercise of controlling the breath) and the latter calling it *dhun* [3] in their own phraseology

Now, the internal senses also are five in number *Mushtarak* (Common) *Mutakhayyila* (Imaginary) *Mutafakkira* (Contemplative), *Hāfiza* (Retentive) and *Wāhima* (Fancying), but in the Indian system however, they are four in number namely *budh* [4], *man* [5] *ahankār* [6] and *chit* [7]—a combination of which is called *antah karan* [8] and this, in its turn, may be looked upon as the fifth Now, *chit* is possessed of a characteristic, called *sat parkarat* [9], which is like its leg and, if cut, *chit* is prevented from running (Of the above), (1) *Budh*, namely, understanding possesses the characteristic of moving towards good and avoiding evil, (2) *Man*, or mind, possesses the two characteristics of *sankalp* [10] and *pakalp* [11], namely, of determination and abandonment (doubt) (3) *Chit*, which, as the messenger of mind, is entrusted with the duty of running on all sides does not possess the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong, (4) *ahankār*, which attributes things to itself, is one of the qualities

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[1] *Mahākāsa*

[2] There is a Persian tract entitled *Risāla i Pās i Anfās* attributed to the authorship of *Jāmi*, in the Bodleian Library (See *Catalogue of Persian MSS* by Sachau and Ethé p 758)

[3] *Dhyāna* [4] *Buddhi* [5] *Manas* [6] *Ahamkāra* [7] *Chit*

[8] *Antahkarana* [9] *Satprakrti* [10] *Samkalpa* [11] *Vikalpa*

And unlimited benedictions be upon the complete manifestation the cause of the creation of the universe—Muhammad, may peace be on him and his exalted descendants and great companions Now, thus sayeth this unafflicted, unsorrowing *fakīr*, Muhammad Dārā Shikūh, that, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Sūfīs and having been endowed with this great gift (i e Sūfistic inspiration), he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists, and, having had repeated intercourse and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this (i e Indian) religion who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension (of God), intelligence and (religious) insight, he did not find any difference except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended Truth Consequently, having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points—a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth—he (i e the author) has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma' ul Bahrain* or "The Mingling of the Two Oceans," as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of *two* Truth knowing (*Hak Shinās*) groups The great (mystics) have said "*Tasawwuf* is equity and (further) *Tasawwuf* is the abandonment of (religious) obligations" So, one who is just and discerning will at once understand that in ascertaining these points how deeply I had to think It is certain that discerning, intelligent persons will derive much pleasure from this tract (*Risāla*), while persons of blunt intelligence of either side, will get no share of its benefits I have put down these researches of mine according to my own intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of my family and I have no concern with the common folk of either community As, Khwāja Ahrār,[1] may his secrets be sanctified, has said, "If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin, is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism, I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him"

And from God comes grace and help!

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[1] Khwāja Nāsiruddin 'Ubaidullāh, better known as Khwāja Ahrār was a great *Nakshbandi* mystic He was born in 806 A H and lived for the greater part of his life at Samarkand where he died on the 29th *Rabi* I, 895 A H Ali b Husain al Wā'iz al Kāshifi in his *Rashahāt* deals principally with the life and teachings of the Khwāja (See *Nafahāt ul Uns*, Nawal Kishūr edition p 364) Dārā Shikūh quotes the above saying attributed to Khwāja Ahrār, on p 39 of his *Hasanāt ul Ārifīn*

I DISCOURSE ON THE ELEMENTS (*'Anāsir*)

Know that the elements are five in number and that these five alone form the constituents of all the mundane creations—*First*, "the great element", (*'Unsur i A'ẓam*), which the men of Faith (*Shar'*) call "*Arsh i Akbar*", or, the 'great throne'. *Secondly*, the wind, *Thirdly*, the fire, *Fourthly*, the water and *Fifthly*, the dust. And in the Indian language these are called *Pānch Bhūt* [1], namely *akās* [2], *bā'ī* [3], *tej* [4], *jal* [5], and *prithī* [6]. (Now) there are three *akās*: *bhūt akās* [7], *man akās* [8], and *chid akās* [9], and (of these) *bhūt akās* is surrounding the elements, *man akās* is encircling the whole existence and *chid akās* is enveloping all and is covering everything. This *chid akās* is permanent, namely, it is not transitory and there is no Kur'ānic or Vedic verse (which is a revealed book) testifying to its annihilation or destruction. The first thing to come out of *chid akās* was Love (or *'Ishk*), which is called *māyā* [10] in the language of the Indian monotheists, and "I was a hidden treasure then I desired to be known, so I brought the creation into existence"—this is a proof of the above statement. From *'Ishk* (Love), (*Rūh i A'ẓam*) *jīv ātmān* [11], the great soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of Muhammad and (further) to the "complete soul" of the Chief (of the Faithful)—may peace be on him and salutation. And the Indian monotheists name him *Hiran Garbha* [12] and *Avasthāt* [13], which denote his greatness. After that comes the element (*'unsur*) of wind, which is said to be the breath of the Merciful (*Rahmān*) from which springs air mundane. At the time of breathing it came out hot on account of its confinement in His August Self, fire came out of air, and, as the same breath possessed the qualities of mercy and unity, it became cold and, as such, water was created from fire. And as, on account of their great purity, the elements of air and fire are hardly perceptible and as water is more perceptible than either, some have held that, water was created first, followed by the element of dust. This dust is likened to the froth of that water and resembles the milk which, when put on fire, boils and froths.

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1 *Panca bhūta* 2 *Ākāśa* 3 *Vāyu* 4 *Tejas*
5 *Jala* 6 *Pṛthivī* 7 *Bhūtākāśa* 8 *Manaākāśa*
9 *Cidākāśa* 10 *Māyā* See p 6 n1 11 *Jīvātman*
12 *Hiranyagarbha* 13 *Avasthātman*

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

1 Discourse on the Elements (*'Anāsir*)

2 ,, on the Senses (*Hawāss*)

3 ,, on the Devotional Exercises (*Ashghāl*)

4 ,, on the Attributes of God, the Most High (*Sifāt i Allāh Ta'ālā*)

5 ,, on the Soul (*Rūh*)

6 ,, on the Air (*Bād*)

7 ,, on the Four Worlds (*'Awālim i Arba'a*)

8 ,, on Sound (*Āwāz*)

9 ,, on Light (*Nūr*)

10 ,, on the Vision of God (*Rūyat*)

11 ,, on the Names of God, the Most High (*Asmāi Allāh Ta'ālā*)

12 ,, on Apostleship and Saintship (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*)

13 ,, on *Barhmānd*

14 ,, on the Directions (*Jihāt*)

15 ,, on the Skies (*Āsmānhā*)

16 ,, on the Earth (*Zamīn*)

17 ,, on the Divisions of the Earth (*Kismat i Zamīn*)

18 ,, on the World of *Barzakh* (i e *Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection*)

19 ,, on the Resurrection (*Kiyāmat*)

20 ,, on *Mukt* (Salvation)

21 ,, on Day and Night (*Rūz wa Shab*)

22 ,, on the Infinity of the Cycles

TRANSLATION

' In the name of One who hath no name With whatever name thou callest Him, He uplifteth His Head '

Abundant praise be (showered) on the Incomparable One, who has manifested on His beautiful, unparalleled and matchless face the two parallel locks of Faith (*Īmān*) and Infidelity (*Kufr*), and by neither of them has He covered His beautiful face

Verses [1]

" Faith and Infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards Him,
And are exclaiming (together) He is One and none shares His kingship " [2]

He is manifest in all, and everything has emanated from Him He is the first and the last and nothing exists, except Him

Quatrain

' The neighbour, the companion and the co traveller is He,
In the rags of beggars and the raiments of kings, is He,
In the conclave on high and the secret chamber below,
By God, He is all and, verily by God, He is all " [3]

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[1] This verse is quoted from the *Hadīkat ul Hakīkat* of Hakīm *Sanā'ī* Ghaznawī Dārā Shikūh also has written a quatrain which bears a close affinity in meaning to the above verse of *Sanā'ī*

' We have not seen a single particle of dust separate from the sun,
(And) every drop of water is the sea in itself
With what name one should call the Truth ?
(For) whatever name there is, it is one of the names of God

Jāmī also has a similar quatrain

At times we call Thee wine and next the wine cup,
(And) at times we call Thee grain and then a snare
There is nothing except Thy name on the tablet of the earth
Now with what name should we call Thee ?

[2] It appears from the *Darbār i Akbarī* of Mawlawī Muhammad Husain Āzād (p 492) that Abul Fadl had this verse inscribed on a building which Akbar had built for the common use of the Hindūs and the Musalmāns

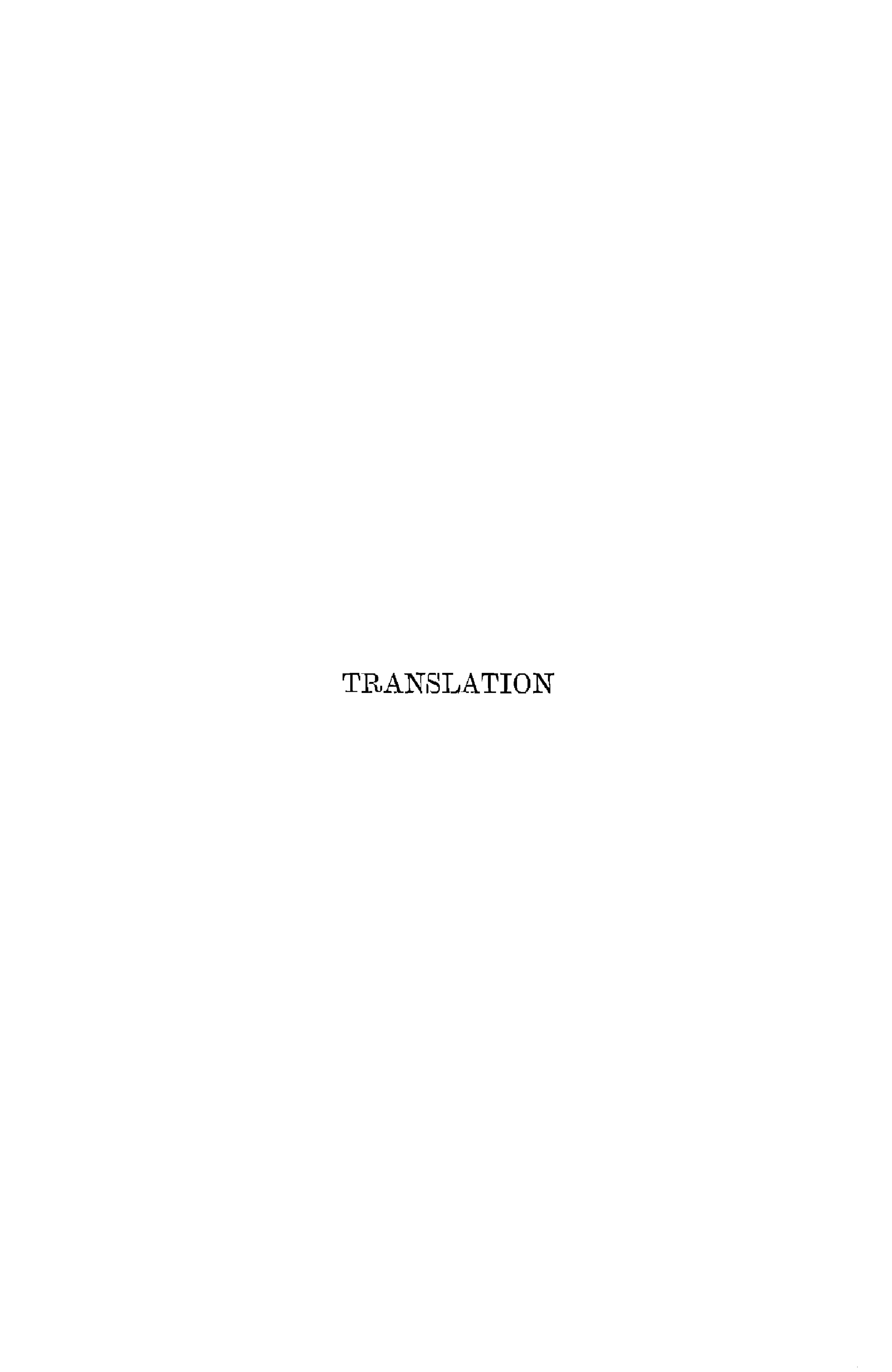
[3] This is one of the quatrains of *Jāmī* Dārā also quotes it in his *Hasanāt ul 'Ārifīn* in connection with the *Shathiyāt* of the poet

Islamia College Calcutta, and Dr G Kar, M A Ph D, of the City College, Calcutta, who kindly revised the proof of the Introduction and the Translation

Finally, I thank Mr Johan van Manen, F A S B, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for his many valuable suggestions and for securing me the permission of the Society for the publication of this work in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*

M MAHFUZ UL HAQ

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE
Calcutta
December 1 1925



TRANSLATION

I have got a transcription of the above MS. through Shams ul 'ulamā M. Hidāyat Husain, who, in his turn, got it, as he informs me, through the kindness of Hāfiz Ahmad 'Alī Khān, the Librarian of the Nawwāb's Palace Library. I have named this MS. R.

(4) A MS. from the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, which is displayed in the shelves of the Hall, as an autograph of Dārā Shikūh. I examined the MS. carefully and found that there was no internal or external evidence to prove or even suggest that the MS. was an autograph one. The handwriting is not that of Dārā Shikūh, for it is quite different from the known autographs of the prince. Moreover, there are so many omissions, inaccuracies and even mistakes of spelling that it is impossible for one to believe that it is an autograph copy of Dārā Shikūh. I have named the MS. V.

(5) MS. from the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, No. 156, III, of the MS. Hand list), which has been acquired quite recently. As the Text and Translation were already in type, I could use the MS. very sparingly. I have, however, made full use of it in preparing the list of variants. I may add here that had this MS. been available at the time of preparing my Text it would have helped me a great deal in preparing a relatively better text. I would call this MS. A.

Besides the above MSS. I have sometimes consulted the apparently unique MS. of the Arabic translation of *Majma' ul Bahrain* which is preserved in the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library, Calcutta.)[1] This translation was made by one Muhammad Sālih b. ash-Shaikh Ahmad al-Misrī, and was of much use to me in correcting the Arabic quotations, etc.

An Urdū translation of *Majma' ul Bahrain*, entitled *Nūr-i-'Ain*, by one Gocul Prasād, was lithographed at Lucknow (1872), but, unfortunately, I could not secure a copy of that.

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[1] Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Būhār Library (Imperial Library, Calcutta) prepared by Shams ul 'ulamā Dr. M. Hidāyat Husain, pp. 150-151.

The above description of the MSS of *Majma' ul Bahrain* will make it abundantly clear that none of them by itself could possibly have been used as the basis of a good text So, I had no other alternative than to prepare my text by collating all the MSS and selecting the best reading for my text I admit that all my selections may not be approved of by my readers and they may permit of further improvement but, with the texts that I had I fear I could not do better

I may add here that in preparing the list of variants I have kept in view the fact that only such variations of the text should be noted as are material and cannot possibly be ascribed to a mistake on the part of the copyist But in order to give the reader an idea of the large number of variations I have noted down almost all the variations found on page 5 of the printed text, which, I think will bear a striking testimony to the idiosyncracies of the copyists

A very difficult task which confronted me was that of identification and transliteration of Sanskrit terms which had been so mutilated in the Persian text that in many cases it became almost impossible to identify them correctly I explained my difficulty to my friend and colleague, Dr Surendra Nath Das Gupta, the author of the admirable *History of Indian Philosophy*, who was good enough to go through the first few pages of my English translation On examining my MS translation the learned doctor suggested to me that Dārā Shikūh had made several inaccurate statements in his text and it was desirable that foot notes were added, explaining and correcting such statements He also promised to write the foot notes himself, but on account of his departure for America, he was unable to fulfil his promise I am greatly indebted to Professor Nilmoni Chakravarti, M A my colleague at the Presidency College, who has very kindly identified and transliterated the Sanskrit terms He has always helped me ungrudgingly

I cannot conclude, without thanking Shams ul 'ulamā Dr M Hidāyat Husain, my teacher and colleague, who has helped me throughout and has always been willing to lay at my disposal his vast store of knowledge regarding Islāmic bibliography and *Ḳur'ānic* literature I am also indebted to Khān Sāhib 'Abdul Wali (who is, unfortunately no longer alive) and Mawlawi Sayyid Muhammad Tāhir, M A , for their kind assistance

My thanks are also due to Mr A H Harley, M A , Principal

a destroyer of the public peace "[1] But the above indictment is too meagre to need any comment Anyone can choose to be the Champion of Islām and remove all those who stand in the way of the realization of his political ambitions

Majma' ul Bahrain

This small tract is of supreme importance to a student of comparative religion as it embodies, so far as I know, the first and perhaps the last attempt of its kind to reconcile the two apparently divergent religions It is the last original work of Dārā Shikūh and, as such has an importance of its own And, according to one authority,[2] it was this very work which brought about his death It is said that this tract was laid before the ecclesiasts who declared its author a heretic and sentenced him to death, which was only too faithfully carried out by his over zealous brother

An examination of the concluding portion of the work will show that it was written in 1065 A H , that is, when Dārā was 42 It appears from the Introduction that Dārā wrote this work, ' according to his own inspiration and taste for the members of his family " He declares openly, "I have nothing to do with the common folk of both the communities "

The tract begins with an Introduction and contains *twenty* sections having the following headings —

1 The Elements
2 The Senses
3 The Religious Exercises
4 The Attributes
5 The Wind
6 The Four Worlds
7 The Fire
8 The Light
9 The Beholding of God
10 The Names of God the Most High
11 The Apostleship and the Prophetship
12 The *Barhmānd*

[1] Jadu Nath Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol II p 214
[2] *Siyar ul Mutaakhkhirin* p 403

13 The Directions
14 The Skies
15 The Earths
16 The Divisions of the Earth
17 The *Barzakh*
18 The Great Resurrection
19 The *Mukt*
20 The Night and the Day

It is unfortunate that although the MSS of *Majma' ul Bahrain* are not rare in the libraries in India, they are full of clerical mistakes and also contain innumerable errors both of omission and commission I have consulted five MSS in preparing the present text, but to my great disappointment none of them could satisfy me There are so many variants and the Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations from the *Kur'ān* are so very different that the task of the editor becomes extremely difficult and at times, even insurmountable

The MSS that I have used in preparing my text are —

(1) MS from the Asifiya Library, Hyderabad, dated 9th Rabi, I, 1224 A H , transcribed by Sayyid Gharib 'Ali b Sayyid Shāh 'Alī Rizvī The Librarian, Mawlawi 'Abbās Husain *Kantūrī* was good enough to have it copied under his supervision The MS contains innumerable clerical mistakes I have named this MS H

(2) A MS from the (Khudā Bakhsh Khān) Oriental Public Library, Bankipore (No 1450 of the Hand list of Persian MSS prepared by Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muktadir), bearing no date of transcription nor the name of the scribe It is a relatively better MS than H, but, nevertheless contains several orthographical mistakes and is not written in a clear hand I have collated MS H with the Oriental Public Library MS which I name K

(3) A MS from the Rampūr State Library, dated 22nd Dhul Hijja, 1226 A H , copied by Muhammad Hāji Beg at the instance of Khwaja Mir Kasim The MS is imperfect in several ways There are apparently spurious additions in the text which display Shiite tendencies A perusal of the list of variants will confirm this statement

out, believing in the saints and the mystics of Islām and calling Muhammed the 'last Prophet'

From 1065 A H onwards, Dārā was more deeply interested in the study of Hindūism In 1066 A H, he got the *Jug Bāshist* translated into Persian A year later he himself translated the *Upanishads* into Persian prose About this time he also translated the *Bhāgvat Gitā*[1] or perhaps, had it translated by one of his courtiers

In all these works there is not the slightest indication that Dārā had renounced Islām and embraced Hindūism He is a Muslim throughout He is of opinion that the *Vedas* are "revealed books" but certainly this could not amount to an apostasy from Islām He believed in the *Kur'ān* and was of opinion that "the *Vedas* were in accordance with the *Kur'ān* or rather they were an interpretation of that" Can such an opinion amount to renouncing Islām? It is for the doctors of the Faith to pronounce an opinion on the point but to a layman like myself, it appears that no one could possibly be declared a *Kāfir* on one's simply expressing the above views There have been many revealed books, which according to the Muslim faith have been abrogated, but, nevertheless, they can be studied profitably by one who wishes to make a higher and deeper study of religions and theological problems So, if Dārā found in the *Vedas* an elucidation and explanation of certain abstruse problems of the *Kur'ān*, he cannot be condemned Mirzā Jānjānān *Mazhar*, *Shahid* (d 1130=1717 A D), who was a very well known saint of India has expressed practically the same views but he has not been condemned by any He writes[2]

" It appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the Bed (Veda), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world

All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God consider the world to be created, believe in the

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[1] Dr Ethe writes in the *Catalogue of Pers MSS in the India Office Library* (c 1089) In the British Mus copy it (i e *Bhagvat Gita*) is wrongly ascribed to Abu al fadl the real translator was as a note on fol 1a in the present copy proves prince Dārā Shukūh

[2] Extracts from the life and teachings of Mirzā Mazhar translated by the late Mawlawi 'Abdul Wali, J A S B, Vol XIX pp 238 239

destruction of the world, in the reward for good and bad conduct, on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct) The rules and regulations of their faith are fully and well arranged So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated In Islamic *Shar* no mention of any other abrogated religions, save Judaism and Christianity, is made, whereas many other religions have undergone the process of obliteration and affirmation (i e changes)

It ought to be noted that according to the holy verse (of the Qur'ān) *And there is not a people but a warner has from among them'* and also *'And every nation had an apostle,* and other verses, there were prophets also in the countries of Hindustan on whom be peace and their account is contained in the books of the Hindus "

If the above views cannot amount to an apostasy from Islām, it is difficult to understand how Dārā Shikūh could have been condemned for expressing practically the same views

His works and writings are before us and, on examining them, we can only state that he was a Muslim throughout and, being a Sūfi himself, expressed such views, which, though appearing as revolting at first sight cannot have amounted to an apostasy from Islām What to say of Dārā? If one cares to examine the works and writings of the most eminent Sūfis one will find that their aphorisms and paradoxes are more condemnable than those of Dārā Shikūh We find that Manṣūr was crucified, Shihābuddin Suhrawardi executed and Sarmad put to death, but time has vindicated their honour Today, they are hailed as martyrs and sufferers on the Path, and such is the case with Dārā Time has vindicated his honour and, now, he is adored and admired by a large section of the Muslims as a prince who suffered death not as an offender against Islām but as one who fell a victim to the Imperialistic ambitions and aspirations of his wily, *fakir* brother

But yet we find that Dārā Shikūh was indicted by the ecclesiasts of the court of Aurangzib for his apostasy According to *Maāthir i 'Ālamgiri,* the official history of Aurangzib, the charge against him was that ' The pillars of the Canonical Law and Faith apprehended many kinds of disturbances from his life So the Emperor, both out of necessity to protect the Holy Law, *and also for reasons of State,* considered it unlawful to allow Dārā to remain alive any longer as

both Vāsistha and Rām Chandar appeared, one night, before Dārā Shikūh in dream, the former asking Rām Chandra to embrace Dārā Shikūh which he did and then again asking him, (Rām Ch) to give some sweets to Dārā which he took and ate As a result of this dream it came to the mind of Dārā to have the work translated into Persian He commanded one of his courtiers to do the work which he performed in collaboration with certain well known Pandits of the place

(3) *Tārīkh i Shamshīr Khānī*—an abridgement of the *Shāhnāma* made at the instance of Dārā (See *Proceedings* of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol II p xvii and Pertsch, No 708)

Of the works dedicated to Dārā I append hereto a list of only two

(1) *Tibb i Dārā Shikūhī*[1]—is a big work of some 400 folios on "the general principles of medicine and the treatment of the various diseases" which was written by Nūruddin Muhammad b 'Abdullāh b 'Ain ul Mulk Shīrāzī It was written about the year 1056 A H[2] and dedicated to Dārā Shikūh the then heir apparent of Shāhjahān

(2) *Tarjuma i Ahwāl i Wāsiṭī*—or a Persian translation of the sayings of the famous Ṣūfī Abū Bakr b Muhammad b Mūsā al Wāsiṭī (d C 320 A H, 932 A D), by one Ibrāhīm Miskīn who dedicated them to this prince in 1067, that is only two years before his execution[3]

Dārā's Religious Views

A close examination of the works of Dārā Shikūh, in their correct chronological order will reveal the fact that his earlier studies were purely Ṣūfistic in character and were not extended to an examination of the mystic systems of other religions But the deeper and wider was his study the greater was the realization of the truths found in other religions and more outspoken the appreciation for them There is no denying the fact that he must have received his education on old, orthodox lines but, nevertheless, he had the courage to cast away all prejudice and examine things in their true perspective He writes himself in his introduction

[1] In the Paris MS Nos 857–859 (*Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans* pp 103 104) the MS is entitled *Ilājāt i Dārā Shikūhī*

[2] The author writes in the introduction that he composed the work about the time Shāhjahān conquered Badakhshān namely 1055 56 A H

[3] A MS copy of the work is in the A S B Library see Ivanow's *Catalogue* p 612

to the translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of Mullā Shāh, in 1050 A H, he came in close contact with the divines of the various religions and perused the Psalms the Gospels and the Pentateuch This marks the beginning of Dārā's examination of the systems of various religions But in the books and tracts which he wrote before 1062, he does not express his opinion on the various religions, or, more specially, on Hindūism In the *Shathiyāt* only (1062) we find him quoting the aphorisms of a Hindū divine, Bābā Lāl which purports to declare that 'Truth is not the monopoly of any one religion' The next work, in order of chronology, is the *Majma ul Bahrain*, written in 1065 in which he has expressed his views very clearly, and is definitely of opinion that in the higher planes of the realization of Truth there is no essential difference between Hindūism and Islām Dārā knew that such an outspoken expression of opinion must be considered as sacrilegious by a large section of the members of both the communities, so he gives the note of warning and says "I have written this book for the members of my family and have nothing to do with the common ones of both the religions" This small book is an attempt to reconcile Hindūism and Islām The author has endeavoured to show that the conception of the Elements God, the Senses, the Almighty, the Soul the Communion with the Infinite the Day of Resurrection, the Universe, the Planets and the Cycles etc, is practically the same in Hindūism and Islām His attempt has been mostly confined to showing the points of identity between the two religions without exalting or undermining either He is concerned with facts and puts them *as they are* His is rather a comparative study of Hindūism and Islām with an attempt to point out the various points on which they meet As a student of comparative religion he has put down the points of resemblance between the two religions, however superficial they may be, and surprisingly enough, in his zeal for establishing a close identity between them has chosen to ignore the many points of difference But it must be admitted, at the same time, that Dārā had not renounced his own faith and become a Hindū as is asserted by a biased section of the community The very Introduction, which he has begun with the praise of God, the Prophet, his companions and the descendants, will belie such a presumption, and a careful perusal of the later chapters will show that he was a Muslim through

"Bābā Lāl *Mandhiya* is one of the perfect '*Ārifs*, and I have seen none in the Hindū community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me, 'There are '*Ārifs* and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community.'[1] "

In the *Majma' ul Bahrain* also (p 24), Dārā has put down the name of this saint, whom he calls Bābā Lāl *Bairāgī*, by the side of those Muhammadan saints and divines who have been the best representatives of the Sūfī order in Islām. The inclusion of the name of a Hindū in such an exclusive list of Muslim divines shows unmistakably the high esteem in which this devotee was held by Dārā Shikūh.

Hence it is not surprising that Dārā did invite the saint and had the conversations, which passed between him and the mystic recorded. It appears that Dārā's private Secretary, Chandar Bhān,[2] was present on the occasion of these interviews and perhaps acting as an interpreter took a verbatim report of the whole dialogue, from which he prepared the present book, entitled *Mukālima i Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl*.

In the A S B (Curzon Collection 1908 1910) there is a manuscript copy of *Pūthi Ūrisī* in Persian, which contains the memoirs of Bābā Lāl and also an account of the interview which he had with Dārā Shikūh in 1059 A H (= 1649 A D).

It may be added here, that there is a painting reproduced in Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghals*,[3] in which Dāra Shikūh is depicted as sitting by the side of Bābā Lāl. Binyon gives us the following particulars regarding the Bābā —

"Lal Swāmi . . . was a Kshatriya, born in Malwa in the reign of Jahāngīr, after having been initiated, he settled near Sirhind, in the Panjāb, where he built himself a hermitage, together with a temple, and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikoh, two learned Hindus who

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[1] In the same book (p 44) Dārā, while quoting the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl, writes that this saint belonged to the order of Kabīr.

[2] Chandar Bhān was an inhabitant of Patyālā or of Lahore, as asserted by some. He was the *Mīr Munshī* to Dārā and was appointed in the *Dār ul Inshā* of Shāhjahān in 1066 A H, and entitled Rāi Chandar Bhān. He died in 1068 A H or in 1073. He left several works including *Chahār Chaman Munshiāt i Brahman*, *Kārnāma*, *Guldasta Majma ul Wuzarā* etc and a *Diwān*.

[3] Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press) 1921 Plate No XXII

were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled *Nādir al Nikāt*, the conversation, that took place between the Swami and the prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649[1]."

In another painting,[2] reproduced in the above book, the Bābā appears in a group of some twelve Indian Divines to wit Rāv Dās Pipā, Nāmdiv Sā'in Kamāl Awghar Kabir Pir Machandar, Gorakh Jadrū, (?) Pir Panth Swāmi (?), and is styled there as Lāl Swāmi. A painting was also exhibited at the second meeting of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*[3] in which Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl (called there Lāldās) are shown in each other's company.

And an unidentified painting in Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Plate No XLVI from M. Demotte's collection) also portrays, in my opinion, the meeting scene between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās.[4]

(2) *Jug Bāshist*—or a Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit *Yoga Vāsishtha*, was undertaken at the instance of Dārā Shikūh by one of his courtiers, whose name, unfortunately we do not know. The translator says in the introduction that Prince Dārā Shikūh ordered him, in 1066 A.H. to translate the *Yoga Vāsishtha* into simple Persian for the other translations, and more specially, the one made by Mullā Sūfi,[5] did not serve the purpose of the seekers of the truth. The immediate reason, however, of having the book translated was that

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[1] P 82 [2] Plate No XIX [3] *Proceedings* Appendix p XXV

[4] The dialogues have been arranged and edited by one Chiranji Lāl and lithographed at Delhi in 1885. An Urdū translation entitled *Asrār i Ma'rifat* has also been published some years back by Dīwān Māyā Dās of Lahore and another with the Persian text, and entitled *Shuā'-i Ma'rifat* was published by Munshi Bulāki Dās of Delhi in 1890. I have perused the second lithographed copy and am surprised to find that it differs materially from the manuscript copy preserved in the Oriental Public Library Patna (No 1119 of the Hand list of Persian MSS). Further a perusal of the above MS copy reveals the fact that the work was originally composed in Hindi and then translated into Persian (fol 1*a*). It may be added here that MS copies of the *Mukālima* in the Berlin Library, (Pertsch No 1,081,2) and the Bodleian Library (Ethe Column 758) agree as appears from the first line quoted in the catalogues with the copy in the Oriental Public Library Patna. Since the above was in type an excellent text of the *Mukālima*, with its French translation has been published by Huart and Massignon in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Tome CCIX No 2

[5] In A S B Collection MS No 138, the name of the translator is Shaikh Sūfi

Begam[1] and which bears the following inscription in his own hand writing —

"This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend the Lady Nadira Begum by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shahjahān in the year 1051 (1641 2 A D) '[2], is one of the most valuable treasures of the Mughal Art

Principal Percy Brown in his admirable *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, while discussing the value and importance of the Album, observes —

"As a criterion of the artistic taste of a cultivated Mughal prince this *Muraqqa'* is of interest, it shows that its original owner while attracted by weak prettiness in some of his selections, was on the whole a good judge of a miniature and had gathered his examples with care"

And, Cecil L Burns, describing the Album in an illuminating article in the *Times of India Annual*, 1925, writes —

"What the Koh i Noor is to other eastern diamonds, surely this richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing miniatures by Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of Caligraphy of the highest quality of the penman's and painter's art, must be to any other volume of a similar character The album is

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(13) An autograph note on the valuable Album which Dārā Shikūh presented to his 'nearest and dearest wife' Nādira Begam in 1051 A H

It may be added here that an ornamented and illuminated copy of the *Kur'ān* which, it is believed, was actually used by Dārā Shikūh, is now in the collection of Nawwāb Husāmuddin Haidar of Comilla The author of *Safar Nāma i Mazhari* (late Hāji Mazhar Alim Ansāri Rūdawlawi) gives us the following particulars regarding the copy —

Nawwāb Husām Haidar Ṣāhib showed me a MS copy of the *Kur'ān* which was illuminated and ornamented with gold It is written by a Persian scribe on thick, fine paper The size is folio My eyes were brightened on seeing the MS It was this very *Kur'ān* from which Dārā Shikūh read daily It bears his seal The Nawwāb Ṣāhib got the MS from a European lady It is a unique copy of the *Kur'ān* (p 98 of the *Safar Nāma*)

[1] India Office Library R and L 914 1908

[2] Smith (V A) *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (Oxford 1911) pp 457 458 For a description of the Album see Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, (1925) pp 94 95 *The Times of India Annual* 1925

similar to such an one as Vasari, the great biographer of the Renaissance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period. All are of the highest quality of the schools represented, and afford a striking testimony to the knowledge and taste of the Prince who selected them.'

WORKS WRITTEN AT THE INSTANCE OF DĀRĀ

In addition to the works which are Dārā's own composition, there is a large number of books which have either been written at his instance, or have been dedicated to him as a tribute to his patronage of such authors. The number of the works of former class cannot be expected to be large but the works of the latter class are numerous and, as such, it will not be possible to notice all of them. Moreover, the identification of all such books has not been complete. I will, therefore, enumerate only the more important ones of this class.

Now let us discuss the works of the former class:—

(1) *Mukālama-i Dārā Shikuh wa Bābā Lāl*—contains a summary of the questions that were asked by Dārā Shikūh on the various topics of Hindū religion and ascetic life and the replies that were given to them by Bābā Lāl, a Hindū devotee of the Panjāb. It appears, from the investigations made by Pandit Sheo Narain,[1] that Bābā Lāl actually named Lāl Dayāl was a Khatri of Kasūr, who lived at his *Asthān*, at Dhiānpūr near Batāla. Dārā Shikūh intended to go to him, as he was a friend of Miyān Jīv, but the saint himself came down to Lahore, where Dārā conversed with him.[2] It is, however, difficult to fix the actual date of these conversations for there is no internal evidence, except one perhaps to give us a clue to ascertain this point. From the seventh and the last sitting it can be ascertained that these conversations took place after Dārā's return from the expedition to Kandhār, in 1062 A.H.

In his *Ḥasanāt al-'Ārifīn*, which he completed in 1064 A.H., Dārā has included the name of Bābā Lāl—the only Hindū whose aphorisms he has quoted. He writes (p. 40):

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[1] In his 'Dārā Shikūh as an author' (*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* Vol. II No. 1 pp. 27-28).

[2] Pandit Sheo Narain writes that he has found a manuscript copy of Bābā Lāl's biography from which he has taken the above details.

Dārā Shikūh and the Fine Arts

Dārā Shikūh was a lover of the fine arts He studied Calligraphy with Ākā 'Abdur Rashīd ad Dailami, the well known Calligrapher at the court of Shāhjahān and the last great scribe of *Nasta'līk* The author of *Tadhkira i Khushnawīsān*[1] states that Dārā wrote a very good hand in *Nasta'līk* and was the best pupil of Ākā Rashīd He adds that none of the pupils of the Ākā excelled him in fine penmanship It may be added that there is a painting in the collection of Mr A Ghose of Calcutta in which Dārā Shikūh is depicted as taking his lessons in Calligraphy from the Ākā[2] Besides *Nasta'līk* Dārā also wrote a very good hand in *Naskh* and the specimens of his Calligraphy preserved in the various Oriental Libraries prove conclusively that he excelled both in *Naskh* and *Nasta'līk*[3] He was also a great admirer of paint

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[1] By Ghulām Muhammad *Haft Rakam*, (Bib Indica) p 54

[2] The painting has been reproduced in the *Calcutta Review* March 1925

[3] I know of the following autographs of Dārā Shikūh preserved in the various libraries of Europe and India —

(1) *Safīnat ul Awliyā* (Oriental Public Library Patna MS No 673) bearing the following note in the hand writing of Dārā Shikūh —

هدا کتاب سفینة الاولیا حرره محمد دارا شکوه حنفی قادری ١٠٥٠ ﮪ

Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muktadir (*Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Oriental Public Library* Patna Vol VIII, pp 47 48) is of opinion that the MS has been collated by Dārā Shikūh as the marginal notes indicate and not copied by him, as is generally asserted

(2) *Kur'ān* written on deer skin in 1051 A H, bearing the following note at the colophon —

کتبه بندهٔ آثم داراشکوه بن شاهجهان پادشاه غازی در مقام شاهجهان آباد ١٠٥١ ﮪ

Shams ul 'ulamā Hāfiz Nadhir Ahmad, who examined the MS in the 'Aziz Bāgh Library, Hyderabad (Deccan) gives the following account of the MS in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series 1917 p xc) The verses of the *Kur'ān* are written throughout in gold The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout The MS is carefully preserved in a splendid binding

(3) *Panjsūra* written in a learned *Naskh* in gold The MS formerly belonged to the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library) Calcutta but is now deposited with the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall Cal

ings and a good judge of their technique and value The Album which he presented to his nearest and dearest wife" Nādira

cutta (See *Catalogue Raisonné of Persian MSS in the Būhār Library* p viii)

(4) *Dah Lauh-i Mastūr* in fine clear *Nasta'līq* within gold ruled borders preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall Calcutta

(5) *Risāla-i Ḥaqnumā-i Dārā* copied by the prince in 1041 A H and now preserved in the Asifiya Library Hyderabad (Deccan) (See the Urdū *Hand list* of the Library, Vol II, pp 1770 1771)

(6) *Sharh-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (by Saifuddin Abul Hasan Abdur Rahmān) defective at the beginning The date of transcription is not given in the Urdū *Hand list* (Vol I, pp 718 719) of the Asifiya library where the MS is at present

(7) A note on the fly leaf of an autograph copy of a *Mathnawī* of Bahāuddin Sultān Walad son of the well known Jalāluddin Rūmī The MS belonged to the Government of India and was noticed in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1870 p 251 but unfortunately, is now no longer in the Government (Curzon) Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal H Blochmann published a facsimile of the Autograph note of Dārā Shikūh in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1870 p 272 which runs as follows

هو القادر
مثنوی سلطان ولد
بخط مبارک ایشان
راقمه محمد دارا شکوه

Blochmann has, due to an oversight read هو الظاهر for هو القادر

(8) A *Wasli* exhibited at the Sixth Session of the *Nadwat ul 'Ulamā* held at Benares, in 1906 See (*An Nadwa* Vol III No 4)

(9) A *Wasli* exhibited at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore 1920 (See p xxii of the *Proceedings* of the Commission)

(10) A *Wasli* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1046 A H (=1636 A D) (See Sachau and Ethe's *Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Bodleian Library* Vol I Column No 1000)

(11) It appears from one of the Letters of Shibli Nu'mānī, a well known Urdū scholar that Dr Sir E Denison Ross had in his possession, an autograph of Dārā Shikūh (See *Makātib-i Shiblī* Vol II, p 241)

(12) *Wasli* exhibited at the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi 1922 (See the *Proceedings* of the Commission Vol IV, p 107 and *Memoirs* of the Arch Sur of India, No 29 p 12)

ness What to say of your incomparable and heart pleasing verses How sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay [2]"

We learn from the *Tadhkiras* that Dārā had adopted the *Takhallus*, or *nom de plume*, of *Kādirī*, which testifies to his sincere devotion to the *Kādirī* order *Sar khush*, who wrote his *Kalimāt ush Shu'arā* only twenty one years after the execution of Dārā, speaks of him in the following words [1] —

> "Muhammad Dārā Shikūh styled as '*Shāh i Baland Ikbāl*," the heir apparent of Shāhjahān Pādshāh, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination and handsome appearance He had patience, led the life of a Sūfī, was a friend of the devotees, and was also an Unitarian and a philosopher He had a noble mind and a far reaching intelligence He expressed Sūfistic ideas in *Quatrains* and *Ghazals* and in view of his adherence to the *Kādirī* order adopted the pen name of *Kādirī* "

Then, the author proceeds to narrate a story showing Dārā's forbearance towards one of the buffoons of his court who had made a very impertinent joke at the expense of the prince

The author concludes the notice of Dārā with the following remarks —

> "He has written excellent Sūfistic works and has solved difficult problems therein A small *Dīwān* of his verses has been collected "

The same author, while giving an account of Mirzā Radī, *Dānish* who came to India in the reign of Shāhjahān, writes —

> "Dārā Shikūh, having appreciated this verse [2] of his, selected it as *Misra' i Tarah*
>
> پاک را سرسبز دارای ابر نیسان در بهار
>
> قطره تا مئی می تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

Every one composed verses according to his liking The prince also wrote a verse [3]

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[1] Afdaluddin *Sarkhush* wrote his *Tadhkira* in 1090 A H

[2] Fol 58 b of my manuscript copy

[3] The story is given on fols 58b and 59a of my manuscript copy The author of *Makh an ul Gharā'ib* (p 682 O P Library copy) writes that four poets

سلطنت سهل است خود را آشنای فقر کن
قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

"Kingship is easy, make thyself familiar with the ways of asceticism,
(For), if a drop can be the ocean why should it (then) be the pearl?"

I cannot do better than quote some of his verses, from certain *Tadhkiras*, and leave them to the readers to pass their own judgment on the same, but, I would ask them to keep in mind the fact that the verses were written at a time when the grandeur and magnificence of the Mughal court had reached the highest pitch of perfection and, in the midst of that mirth and merry making there was the heir apparent who did think of the Transcendent and rise above the gross materialism of his day to the planes of higher spiritualism. He writes

هر خم و پیچی که شد از تاب زلفت تار شد
دام شد تسبیح شد زنجیر شد زنار شد

تا دوست رسیدم چو از خویش بریدم
از خویش گذشتن چه مبارک سفری بود

مردم شدم تا که قرآن گشتم
عارف شدم و ز خویش عریان گشتم
پیدا کردی مرا و لیکن من هم
پیدا کردم ترا و پنهان گشتم

نقطه بر خرقهٔ فنا گشتن موج آب حباب را ماند

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including the prince had written verses in reply (جواب) to the above verse of *Faidi*. I think the biographer is wrong in ascribing the authorship of the verse to *Faidi* as it is not included in his *Diwān*.

2 *Nādir un Nikāt*—Dr Ethe[1] has ascribed this work to Dārā Shikūh but has quoted no authority in favour of his assertion It is not improbable, however that *Nādir un Nikāt* is only another name of *Risāla i Haq Numā*, for a manuscript copy of the latter tract (in the A S B Curzon Collection) bears the former title It is equally probable that *Nādir un Nikāt* and *Mukālima i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*[2] (of which I will speak later) are identical, for a manuscript copy of the latter work preserved in the O P Library[3] bears the title of *Makhzan i Nikāt*, which is closely allied to *Nādir un Nikāt* It is however difficult to choose between the two probables

3 *Mathnawī*—It appears from the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol II, No I)[4] that a Persian *Mathnawī* said to have been composed by this prince is mentioned in the *Makhzan* a monthly magazine of Lahore (September 1907)

4 It is stated in the above *Journal* that Dārā Shikūh is reported to have written an autobiography, but so far I have found no mention of such a work in the books I have consulted in connection with the life of this prince

DARA SHIKŪH AS A POET

So far, we have described only the prose works of Dārā Shikūh or such other works as have been ascribed to his authorship but have not, as far as I know, been traced anywhere Now we may discuss briefly the merits of Dārā as a poet But, I must state at the outset, that the materials for such a discussion are very scanty We know from authoritative sources that Dārā Shikūh composed a *Dīwān* entitled *Iksīr i A'zam* which, according to the author of *Khazīnat ul Asfiyā*, contained "a mine of information regarding *Tawhīd*, and was actually perused by him It is a pity, however, that such a valuable *Dīwān* has not as yet, found room in the well known libraries of the East or the West, nor has seen the light of print I was pleased to see an announcement in the *Nigār*, (an Urdū monthly of Bhūpāl), that the *Dīwān* of

[1] *Catalogue of Persian MSS in the India Office Library* vol I p 275

[2] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* vol II, No I p 27

[3] Pandit Sheo Narain's article on "Dārā Shikūh as an author" in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol II, No I p 26

[4] Ibid p 25

Dārā Shikūh has been discovered and that full particulars regarding this valuable manuscript will be published in a subsequent issue of the magazine I waited for two years but no such description of the manuscript appeared Finally, I wrote to the editor of the magazine who informed me, in reply that the owner of the manuscript had left for England and I must wait till his return Hence, my disappointment I also found an announcement in the price list of Hājī Jān Muh Allāh Bakhsh Gunā'ī, the well known book sellers of Lahore, that the Quatrains of Dārā Shikūh (رباعیات داراشکوه) are in the course of print It is more than two years since I saw the announcement and I have been asked by the publishers to wait for some months more !

It is difficult to hazard any opinion regarding the contents of the *Dīwān*, nor it is possible to say whether the *Quatrains*, which are said to be in the course of publication at Lahore, are included in the *Dīwān* or the *Mathnawī*, which has been ascribed to him is also included in it Such questions can only be answered on the publication of the *Dīwān* or a list of its contents For the time being, at least we are to be contented with some 25 quatrains and a few *Ghazals* only which have either been quoted by Dārā in his prose works or have been ascribed to him in the various *Tadhkiras*

The largest number of *Quatrains*, totalling more than 20 [1], are quoted by Dārā in his *Hasanāt ul 'Ārifīn* and only a few more can be found in all his remaining works Hence, it is apparent that the materials, as I have stated before are very scanty But we are to judge their value by their quality and not by their quantity We find, that Dārā's verses were appreciated in his own life time The following appreciation from the pen of Mullā Shāh, who was himself an accomplished poet, will serve to convey an idea as to Dārā being a poet of no ordinary merit [2]

' All the excellences are under the subjugation of an 'Ārif, and this is well established that he (also) possesses (some degree) of harmonious

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[1] I have calculated this number from my manuscript copy of *Hasanāt*, and have taken only such quatrains about which the author has distinctly mentioned that they are his composition A perusal of other manuscripts may either increase or reduce this number

[2] Mullā Shāh s letter to Dārā Shikūh in *Sakīnat ul Awliyā* p 144

of this book And (he) had no other object in view (in translating this work) except that he would be personally benefited or that his issues, friends and the seekers of the Truth would gather its fruits The graced one who, having set aside the promptings of passion, and casting off all prejudice, will read and understand this translation,—which is entitled *Sirr i Akbar* (or, the Great Secret)—will consider it to be Divine utterance, he will have no anxiety or fear or grief and will be helped and fortified with Divine grace "

7 *Bhāgvat Gītā*—The Persian translation of this well known Sanskrit work is ascribed to Dārā Shikūh in the manuscript copy (No 1949) preserved in the India Office Library Dr Ethé is of opinion[1] that Dārā Shikūh and not Abul Faḍl as wrongly asserted by Dr Rieu,[2] is the author of the work In view of the categorical statement made by Dr Ethé it is difficult to discredit his statement The translation does not bear any date but most probably it was not made before 1067 A H, namely, the year in which Dārā translated the *Upanishads*

To the above list we may add the following works, which are more or less, of a fragmentary character —

8 I learn from the *Makhzan ul Gharā'ib*,[3] an extremely valuable biography of Persian poets that Dārā Shikūh had compiled a *Bayāḍ*, or Anthology, which was used by the author of *Makhzan ul Gharā'ib* in compiling his *Tadhkira* It is unfortunate, however, that even a single copy of the *Bayāḍ* cannot be traced in any of the Oriental libraries It is needless to add that had the *Bayāḍ* been available it must have thrown some light on the poetical taste of the prince and might also have enabled us to gather some more verses of the prince

9 Dārā Shikūh is also the author of a large number of letters which are of no mean literary importance The *Fayyāḍ ul Kawānīn*[4]

1 *Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Library of the India Office* Vol I, column 1089

2 *Catalogue of Pers MSS in the British Museum* Vol I, p 39

3 MS copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No 239 of the *Hand list*) p 3

4 The *Fayyāḍ ul Kawānīn* is a valuable collection of a large number of letters divided into *three* books "(i) Letters of kings and princes (ii) Letters from nobles to each other and to kings and princes, and (iii) miscellaneous letters (Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, ii, p 315) Copies of this work are extremely rare but I was fortunate

contains some eight letters written by the prince to Shāh Muhammad Dilrubā, Shaikh Muhibbullāh of Allahabad and others, asking from them an explanation of certain abstruse points of *Taṣawwuf* I have also come across a number of letters, ascribed to him in certain books of *Inshā* and also in *Majmūa's*, or the fragmentary collection of small tracts etc

10 In the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (No 701 of Blochet's Catalogue), there is a MS copy of *Nigāristān i Munīr*, which contains at the end, the Introduction of a *Muraḳḳa'*, (or Album) which was as the compiler's note indicates, dictated by Dārā Shikūh It is not known as to whether the Album was arranged by the Prince himself or that it belonged to some one else who asked him to write the Introduction It may also be possible that this introduction in *Nigāristān* is of the same Album which Dārā presented to his "nearest and dearest wife" Nādira Begam, in 1051 A H (=1641 2 A D)

Besides the above works, of which the first four have been printed and the last three are in manuscript, there are other works ascribed to the authorship of Dārā which have not been traced so far However, if an attempt is made at their identification and the statements of the various authors who have ascribed hitherto untraced works to Dārā are verified in the light of modern research it will, I hope, shed more light on the life and works of this prince I append, herewith, a list of such works as are said to have been written by Dārā but have not so far as I know been traced in any of the important libraries of the East or the West —

1 *Risāla i Ma'ārif* —This is said to be a tract on, as its name indicates, the doctrines of mysticism The author of *Khazīnat ul Asfiyā*[1] (vol I, p 175) ascribes its authorship to Dārā Shikūh Muhammad Latif, in his *Lahore*[2], has also included it in the list of Dārā Shikūh's works but the latter appears to have only copied it from the *Khazīna*

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in examining a MS copy of the above work I have taken down a transcription of the letters of Dārā Shikūh which I propose to publish sometime later Two of the above letters are included in a MS copy of *Safīna i Bahr ul Muhīt* preserved in the Berlin Library (Pertsch pp 40 45) Another letter which Dārā Shikūh wrote in 1055 A H (=1645 A D) is preserved in MS No 56 of the above library (Pertsch, p 115) and a letter to Sarmad was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1923

[1] By Mufti Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore (Lucknow 1874)

[2] Latif s *Lahore* (1892), p 64

5 *Majma' ul Bahrain*, or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans,' is the fifth work of Dārā Shikūh which he completed in 1065 A H namely, when he was forty two years old As I have discussed the work more fully in subsequent pages, (pp xxx–xxxiii, *infra*) I need not repeat what I have stated elsewhere

6 *Upanishads*—This is a translation of some fifty chapters of the *Upanishads*, or *Upanikhat*, entitled *Sirr i Akbar*,[1] made by Dārā Shikūh, in 1067 A H or some two years before his execution

The chief merit of this translation lies in its simplicity and it must always be considered as one of the best specimens of easy, flowing style I cannot do better than present to the reader a translation of the introductory pages of this work, which will give him I believe, an adequate idea as to the reasons which prompted Dārā to undertake this work the pains that he took to read the Old and the New Testaments the Psalms of David and other Scriptures, his disappointment at not finding in these scriptures a true solution of the problem of *Tawhīd*, and, finally, getting his heart's desire in the *Upanishads*

He writes[2] "Praise be to the Self which has made the dot on the letter *bi* (ب) of *Bismillāh*, (in the name of God), an eternal secret in all the revealed books, and *Al Hamd* which is *Omul kitāb*, in the Holy *Kur'ān*, is a reference to His Great Name (*Ism i A'zam*) in which are included all the angels, Heavenly Books, Prophets and Apostles *Preface* Now, thus sayeth, this griefless *fakir* Muhammad Dārā Shikūh, that when he visited the Paradise like Kashmir, in 1050, he had, through Divine grace and His boundless mercy occasion to become a disciple of Mullā Shāh As he had an ardent desire for seeing the God knowing devotees of the various 'orders' and hear their high utterance regarding monotheism, he had read the various works on mysticism and had himself composed tracts, but inspite of this, his thirst for understanding *Tawhīd* which is a vast ocean, was increasing more and more

[1] Anquetil Duperron 'the famous French traveller and discoverer of the Zend Avesta' translated the *Upanishads* into French (not published) and into Latin from the Persian translation made by Dārā Shikūh It was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802 (See the *Upanishads* translated by Max Muller in the *Sacred Books of the East Series* Vol I p lviii)

[2] *Sirr i Akbar* (A S B Curzon Collection, No II 151) fols 1b 2a b 3a, b and 4a See also J A S B (New Series) Vol XIX, No 7, pp 242 to 244 and 250 to 252

New problems were coming to his mind, the solution of which was impossible without a reference to the sayings of God or without (quoting) an authority from His Omniscient Self. Moreover, there were many secrets concealed in the Holy *Kur'ān* and the Sacred Book whose interpreter it was difficult to find. So, he (i.e. the author) desired to read all the revealed Books, for the utterances of God elucidate and explain one another. It may be that in one place it is found in compendium, while in others it may be given in detail and, as such, the compendium may be understood by the help of the detailed. I read the Old and the New Testaments and the Psalms of David and other scriptures but the discourse on *Tawḥīd* found in them was brief and in a summary form and, from the easy translations which have been made by interested persons, the object could not be realized.'

Further the author says that he examined the religious works of the Hindūs "who do not negate monotheism," and found that the monotheistic verses contained in the four *Vedas* have been collected and elucidated in the *Upanikhat*, which is an ocean of monotheism. So he undertook a literal and correct translation of the work with the help of the Pandits and the Sanyāsis of Benares and accomplished the work in 1067 A.H. He says: "Any difficult problem or sublime idea that came to his mind and was not solved inspite of his best efforts becomes clear and solved with the help of this ancient work, which is undoubtedly the first heavenly Book and the fountain head of the ocean of monotheism, and in accordance with or rather an elucidation of the *Kur'ān*. And this *verse* appears to have been revealed for this very ancient book:

إنه لقرآن كريم في كتاب مكنون لا يمسه إلا المطهرون تنزيل من رب العالمين * (Ch. LVI. 77, 78, 79.)

It is ascertainable that the above verse does not refer to the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels, nor to the Secret Tablet (*Lawḥ-i-Maḥfūẓ*), as the word *tanzīl* cannot be applied to the latter. Now, as *Upanikhat* is a hidden secret and the actual verses of the *Kur'ān* can be found in it, it is certain that the hidden book (or, *kitāb-i-maknūn*) is a reference to this very ancient book. This *Fakīr* has known unknown things and understood un-understood problems through the medium

وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَابَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا أَهْلَكْنَا الْقُرُونَ الْأُولَى بَصَائِرَ لِلنَّاسِ
وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ *

And certainly We gave Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations, clear arguments for men and a guidance and a mercy, that they may be mindful (Ch xxviii 43)

The tract is divided into six *fasls* (or sections) dealing with the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, or, the Human World (pp 8, 9), the *Malakūt*, or, the Invisible World (p 9–21), the *Jabarūt*, or, the Highest Heaven (p 21 22), and *Lāhut*, or the World of Divinity (p 22) The fifth *fasl* deals with *Hawiyat* or Divine Essence and the sixth is a continuation of the same discussion The author concludes the work by quoting one of his quatrains which shows that the tract was completed in 1056 A H and that it was written under inspiration

"The whole of this tract is a compass of the Truth

and was completed in the year *one thousand and fifty six*

Consider this to be the work of *Kādir* (i e the Absolute) and not

of *Kādiri* (i e Dārā Shikūh),

Understand whatever I have said, and peace be on thee'

4 *Shathiyāt*, or *Hasanāt ul 'Ārifin*, is a collection of Sūfic aphorisms containing the ecstatic utterances of the mystics, which seemingly appear to be in direct contravention of the orthodox doctrines of Islām The author says in the introduction that his mystic utterances and the expression of higher truths in moments of ecstasy gave rise to serious objections from interested quarters He writes [1]

"As I had become dissatisfied with the current books of the men of the Path, and at times used to utter words containing the highest truth, in my ecstatic states, and some ill natured and insincere people, out of shallow knowledge, began to taunt and accuse me of heresies, it struck me that I should collect sayings called Shatahiat of high souled and eminent men of sanctity as authorities for my professions, to convince those who are imbued with the spirit of Dajjal instead of that of Christ or with that of Pharoah instead of that of Moses or with that

[1] I quote the English translation or rather the paraphrase given by Pandit Sheo Narain in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* Vol II, No 1, pp 28 29

of Abū Jahl instead of that of a Muhammad Some sayings had been, no doubt, collected by one Bulkhī [1], but as they were in allegorical style, I have added more, and simplified the language so that it may be properly understood "

A perusal of the above extract will make it abundantly clear that Dārā had reached a very high stage of spiritual life and, if we take his statement to be correct, there is no gainsaying that he indulged in such ecstatic effusions as are the exclusive privilege of those alone who are spiritually perfect He has boldly supported his aphorisms and utterances by writing this work, which not only embodies the ecstatic utterances of the various divines and mystics—such as Bāyazīd, Dhun Nūn al Miṣrī, Sahl b 'Abdullāh at Tustarī Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz, Junaid al Baghdādī, Ruwaim, Abū Bakr Wāsitī, Ahmad i Ghazzālī, Abdul Kādir al Jīlānī, Ibn al Arabī and others—but also of Prophet Muhammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs and Imām Zain al Ābidīn and Imām Ja'far i Sādik Dārā concludes by saying that some truth seekers had asked him to embody in this work his own *Shath*, or aphorisms, but he replied by saying, "My *Shath* is that all the *Shaths* contained in this work are mine ' This is certainly a very bold statement and may be said to do credit to the prince

It appears from the introduction that Dārā Shikūh undertook to write this work in 1062 A H , when he was 28 years of age (p 1),[2] and actually completed it on Monday the last day of Rabī' al Awwal, 1064 A H , (p 64) His conclusion is interesting as it gives us an insight into his mental attitude He writes (p 64) "He is fortunate who finds taste in these matters and is benefited by them and considers himself a sincere devotee of theirs (i e the Sūfīs) and engages himself in such pursuits God, the Generous, has said, ' We did not create the Jin and the human beings except for devotion ' All the erotic and esoteric commentators of the *Kur'ān* have explained devotion by the word *Irfān* (or, Divine knowledge) Hence, nothing is better than *Tawhīd* (monotheism) and *Ma'rifat* (Divine knowledge) "

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[1] The learned Pandit has wrongly read *Baklī* (بقلی) as *Bulkhī* It is part of the name of Shaikh Rūzbahān Baklī the well known saint whose life Dārā has noticed on p 176 of his *Safīnat ul Awliyā* (d 606 A H)

[2] *Hasanāt ul Ārifīn*, (Urdū translation) lithographed at Lahore and published by Malik Fadluddin Malik Chananuddin and Malik Tājuddin, *Kakkay Zay*

former has recorded in the *Sakina* but the following extract from the letters which the latter wrote to Dārā may serve to show the esteem in which the prince was held by his *Pīr* and *Murshid* He writes " ... I repose much trust in your wisdom and understanding ... " (Letter No 1, p 140) "You are well informed of divine mysteries ... " (Letter No 3, p 141) "O! temporal and spiritual King ... " (Letter No 9, p 147), etc

Moreover Mullā Shāh has written a special *Ghazal* in which he has exalted the spiritual attainments of Dārā Shikūh He writes[1] —

> The first and the second *Sāhib Kirān* (namely Amīr Tīmūr and Shāhjahān) are the kings of grandeur (while) our Dārā Shikūh is the *Sāhib Kirān* of heart
>
> From the universe, the provision of the two worlds he has brought under his grip on account of the merchandise of his heart

We also learn from the *Sakinat ul Awliyā* that Mullā Shāh had asked Dārā to impart spiritual instructions to the *murīds*, but the *'Ulamā* who were known to Dārā dissuaded him from doing so (p 135) He took omen from the *Kur'ān* which was favourable to him but it appears that he never actually engaged himself in imparting spiritual instructions Mullā Shāh exhorted Dārā, on the eve of his departure to Kashmir, "to advise the companions (*yārs*) as he was the wisest among them", and Dārā in his turn, requested him to pray for his future salvation (p 138) It also appears that Mullā Shāh was of opinion that the propagation of the *Kādiri* mission in India would take place at the hands of the prince (p 139) Of the religious exercises in which Dārā engaged himself, there is one which deserves special mention, namely, his exercise of restraining the breath He writes, "One day he (Mullā Shāh) said that the exercise of restraining the breath which prevails in our order is absent from all others, and is extremely difficult to perform He taught me the method which is peculiar to this order Of the exercises in which I engaged myself in the beginning (of my spiritualistic

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[1] *Sakinat ul Awliyā* Curzon Collection No 113 fol 83b

صاحبقران اوّل و ثانی ورین حشمت اند   داراشکوه ما شده صاحبقران دل

آخر ز کائنات متاع دو کون را   کرد او بدست خود ز متاع دکان دل

career), this is one and, as a result, I could pass the whole night whether it be long or short in two breaths and, at times, my condition became such as if my life was going to be extinct

3 *Risāla i Hak Numā* or 'the Compass of the Truth, is the third work of Dārā Shikūh It is a small tract of some thirty pages[1] dealing with the various stages of spiritual development and discussing the ways and means of reaching the highest pitch of spiritual perfection The prince writes in the introduction that "none should read this *Risāla* unless he has got the companionship of some perfect (divine)" (p 6) Further he adds that this tract is a compendium of *Futūhāt, Fusūs ul Hikam Lawā'ih Lamu'āt, Lawāmi'* and other works of Sūfism and expects that, "if this tract is examined by a man of God, he will justly remark what a (wonderful) gate of Divine inspiration has been opened to this *fakīr* and that God has inspite of his being in this garb (of a prince), opened to him the portals of saintliness and divine knowledge, so that human beings may know that His favour is without any (particular) cause He draws towards Himself whomsoever He likes in whatever garb he be This wealth (of Divine knowledge) is not bestowed on every one but has been bestowed specially on *him*" (p 6) Dārā goes on speak in this strain He says that his first work, *Safīna* was a composition of the period of quest (after a perfect divine) and his second, *Sakīna*, was written after he had reached the companionship of such a divine and had learnt from him "the paths of *Sulūk* and the *Makāmāt* (or the stages of the Sūfis)," (p 7) Lastly, he says, "Now that the gates of *Tawhīd* (Divine Unity) and '*Irfān* (Divine knowledge) have been opened to him by God, the Most Holy and High, and He has bestowed on him His special gifts and bounties, he records them in this tract" (p 7) Dārā further speaks (p 5) that he has uniformly named a book by taking omens from the Holy *Kur'ān* He writes "In all my compositions I have followed the practice of taking omens from the Holy *Kur'ān* and naming them at the Divine instance It had come to my mind to name this tract, *Hak Numā*, (or, the Compass of the Truth) and, when I took omen, the following Holy verse, which unmistakably points to this tract being a guide to truth and also to its greatness, came out"

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[1] Lithographed at the Nawal Kishūr Press Lucknow 1910 It has also been translated into English and published by the Panini Office, Allahabad

1	Prophet Muhammad, the Caliphs (4), the *three Amīr ul Muminīn* and the *Imāms* (18)	1—26
2	Saints of the *Kādirī* order	27—65
3	Saints of the *Nakshbandī* order	66—94
4	Saints of the *Chishtī* order	95–119
5	Saints of the *Kubrawī* order	120–139
6	Saints of the *Suhrawardī* order	140–159
7	Saints of the various minor orders	160–377
8	Wives of the Prophet	378–388
9	Daughters of the Prophet	389–392
10	Female mystics	393–417

In the introduction to the work Dārā styles himself as he has done in most of his later works *Hanafī*, *Kādirī*, namely, a follower of Imām Abū Hanīfa and a *Murīd* of the order which owes its origin to Shaikh 'Abdul Kādir of Gilān, and concludes by hoping that his (*i e* Dārā's) future may be happy through the grace of the many divines and mystics whose lives he has noticed in this work

2 *Sakīnat ul Awliyā* —This is Dārā's second work which he wrote in his 28th year (p 134),[1] in 1052 A H (p 6), dealing with the biography of Miyān Mīr, or Miyān Jīv, the spiritual guide of his *Pīr* and *Murshid*, Mullā Shāh,[2] called *Lisānullāh*, and his many disciples Dārā Shikūh writes in the introduction to this work that on a certain Thursday, in the 24th year of his life, an angel cried out to him, in his dream, that he will get such a reward from God as has not been bestowed on any previous king, and the fulfilment of this message came on the 29th Dhul Hijja, 1049 when he was initiated into the *Kādirī* order by Mullā Shāh, who according to Dārā, was the greatest divine of his time Dārā, besides noticing at considerable length the lives of Miyān Jīv his sister Jamāl Khātūn, and his many disciples, the most notable among

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1 Urdū translation lithographed at Lahore

2 In Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls* (Milford, 1921) Plate No XXXIII, there is a fine miniature portraying Miyan Jiv and Mulla Shah sitting opposite to each other And in Havell's *Indian Painting and Sculpture*, (London 1908) there is a fine painting, reproduced in colour in which Mullā Shāh and Khwāja 'Abdullāh are seen sitting opposite to Miyan Jiv and in E Blochet's *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux* (Paris 1926) there is a portrait of Dārā Shikūh and Mullā Shāh, which the learned author could not identify

whom is Mullā Shāh, discusses various Sūfistic and religious problems, such as the need of a spiritual guide, the way to find him, the desirability or otherwise of *Samā'* (or engagement in hearing esoteric songs), the problem of the vision of God (or *rūyat*), etc In short, the work is replete with interesting discussions on the various problems of the Path and can be read with profit by the serious students of Sūfism It appears that Dārā has supported his arguments by reference to or quotations from the various standard works of Tradition or Sūfism and the names of the following works to which Dārā has referred in this book, may serve to give an idea of the extensive studies of this prince *Kashf ul Mahjūb* (p 5) *Tārīkh i-Yāfi'ī* (p 13), *Mu'jam ul Buldān* (p 14), *Sahīh Muslim* (p 24), *Mishkāt* (p 24), *Bahr ul-Haqā'ik* (p 63), *Tafsīr i Sullamī*, (p 63), *Tafsīr i Arā'is* (p 64), *Tafsīr i Kubshānī* (p 64), *Fasl ul Khitāb* (p 65), *Takmila* (p 81), *Tafsīr i Husainī* (p 135)

This work is also valuable in another way, namely, that it gives us an insight into the relation which existed between Dārā and Miyān Jīv and Mullā Shāh He first meets Miyān Jīv in the company of his father, Shāhjahān, in 1043 A H,[1] and the immediate effect of this meeting is his complete recovery from the serious malady he had been suffering from for the last four months (pp 38, 39) The second visit of Dārā, which was also paid in company of his father[2], produces a still greater effect on him He goes bare footed to the upper storey of Miyān Jīv's house and, out of reverence to the saint, gathers the chewed clove thrown away by him Next, he goes to him alone and pays him homage by placing his hands at his feet (p 41) This opened the portals of Divine mysteries on Dārā and Miyān Mīr pronounced him to be his "very life and vision," (p 42) And it was through the kindness of Miyān Mīr that Dārā received lessons in *Mushāhida* (or, Beholding of God) and also witnessed the *Lailat ul Kadr*, on the 27th Ramadān, 1050 A H The relations that existed between Dārā and his spiritual guide, Mullā Shāh, were more intimate and endured up to the latter's death, in 1072 A H It is impossible to reproduce even in brief the many personal reminiscences of Dārā's relations with Mullā Shāh which the

[1] The interview took place on the 17th Shawwāl 1043 A H (see *Bādshāhnāma* vol I part ii, p 12 and *Safīnat ul Awliyā* pp 38 39)

[2] This interview took place on the 8th Rajab, 1044 A H (see *Bādshāhnāma*, vol I part ii p 65 and *Safīnat ul Awliyā*, p 39)

deserted him his best supporters left him and the climax of calamities was reached when Nādira Begum, his dearest and best loved wife, was snatched away by the cruel hand of Death Dārā presented a miserable figure, he was a broken man and resigned himself to the will of God His sufferings, however, were soon to end He was captured by Malik Jiwan of Dadar his Afghān host, and brought to Delhi under the escort of Aurangzib's generals and paraded through the streets on a large elephant He underwent a mock trial at the hands of Aurangzib's *'Ulamā* and was found guilty of apostasy from Islām The younger brother passed orders for his execution,[1] which was carried out on the night of Wednesday, 21st Dhul Hijja,[2] 1069 A H So died Dārā, the eldest son of Shāhjahān and the would be emperor of Hindūstān

DARA AS AN AUTHOR

A perusal of the writings of Dārā Shikūh will make it abundantly clear that he had Sūfistic leanings from a very early age He

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[1] For an account of the trial of Dārā Shikūh and the charges brought against him see *Maāthir i Ālamgiri*, (Bib Ind) p 1 *'Ālamgirnāma* (Bib Ind), pp 34–36 in which the charges are enumerated in some detail, and p 112 where the immediate reasons of the execution are given *Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, (Bib Ind), ii p 87 in which Dārā is accused of vilifying *Tasawwuf* Manucci *Storia Do Mogor* i pp 356–358, gives a very graphic account of the execution but makes the highly incredible statement that Dārā wanted to embrace Christianity in his last moments, Bernier's account (*Travels* p 100) is brief J N Sarkar (*Aurangzib* i pp 296–299 and ii pp 213–219) gives the best account based, among others on *Tārīkh i Shāh Shujā* of Mir Muhammad Ma sūm

[2] *'Ālamgirnāma*, (Bib Ind), 132 According to *Maāthir i 'Ālamgiri* (Bib Ind), p 27, Dārā was executed on the night of Thursday the 21st Dhul Hijja the author of *Amal i Sālih* (Elliott vii, p 241) records on the 26th Dhul Hijja Khāfī Khān (*Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, ii, p 87) says that Dārā was executed on the last (*akhir*) day of Dhul Hijja (i e 29th) while Mufti Ghulām Sarwar (*Khazīnat ul Asfiyā*, i, p 174) records the date of execution on the 1st Muharram 1070 A H which is evidently wrong H Blochmann (J A S B xxxix i p 277) accepts the 21st Dhul Hijja and says that it was *Tuesday evening* He observes

The last day (29th Zi Hajjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday 7th September, 1659 Hence the 21st Zi Hajjah is Tuesday 30th August The Muhammadan Historian says Dara was killed on a *Wednesday evening* This fully agrees with our computation for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o clock P M '

had studied the well known works of the Sūfīs of Islām and had examined their contents very closely and minutely. We find him making very apt quotations from the works of the various masters of Sūfism and also deducing relevant, but mostly independent, conclusions from the Holy Kur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. He appears to be independent in his judgment and bold in his conclusions. He does not seem to make a fetish of the stereotyped dogmas nor, necessarily, follows the beaten path. His studies in Sūfism lead him to the conclusion that Truth is not the exclusive property of any particular or 'chosen' race but that it can be found in all religions and at all times. But this conclusion was not reached in one day. It was the result of deep study and continued association with the divines of different religions and the Sūfis of various shades of opinion. This gradual development of the mental attitude of Dārā is a very interesting study. His is a mind which advances from the commonplace to the sublime. We can have some idea of this gradual advancement from a perusal of the various works and their contents, a list of which I give here in their chronological order.

1. *Safīnat ul Awliyā*, is the first work of Dārā, which he wrote in his 25th year (27th Ramadān 1049 A.H.). He writes in the introduction to this work that he had a particular respect for the Sūfis and the religious divines, and had studied their lives closely but had been disappointed to find that the details of their lives were scattered in the pages of so many different manuscripts. Moreover, as he remarks on p. 12, the dates of the birth and death of many mystics were wanting in the standard biographies of the Sūfis, to wit, the *Nafahāt ul Uns*, *Tārīkh i Yāfi'ī* and *Tabakāt i Sultānī*. So he contrived to compose this work with the distinct object of supplying, within a very short compass, the details regarding the dates of birth and death, the place of burial and other important particulars of the saints of Islām. The extent as well as the conciseness of the work is apparent from the fact that in some 200 pages,[1] Dārā has noticed the lives of about 411 saints and divines, including the Prophet, his wives, the Orthodox Caliphs and the Imāms. The following is a detailed list of the contents of the work :—

[1] The Nawal Kishūr edition (1884) comprises 218 pages.

and the first glimpse that we get of him is at the time when he is handed over to Jahāngīr[1] as a hostage on behalf of his rebel father, Khurram, and jealously guarded by his step grandmother, Nūr Jahān Dārā was detained at Lahore up to the date of Shāhjahān's accession (1037 A H =1627 A D)[2] When Dārā Shikūh returned to Agra he was about 13 years old and it must have been about this time that Shāh jahān would have given earnest and serious attention to imparting higher education to him But there is nothing on record so far as I know to show how far Dārā Shikūh had progressed in his studies and what special endeavours had been made by his father to educate him in accordance with the best traditions of the Mughals What the Court Historians inform us of is not about the progress made by Dārā in his study of Philosophy[3] or Caligraphy but of the showering of royal favours, in the form of presents and gifts and promotions in official rank, etc But we must confess that such matters can hardly interest us They can only be used profitably by a chronicler of Dārā's political history and not by one who aims at tracing the literary attainments of this illustrious prince So, I am constrained to pass over the many unimportant events recorded in the official and non official histories of the reigns of Shahjahān and Aurangzīb, and would only make a passing reference to some of the more important ones

Dārā, as is generally known, was the most loved child of Shāh jahān and, as such, the Emperor did not like to lose his company by sending him to distant provinces The other princes, Shujā', Murād and Aurangzīb, were sent out as provincial governors but Dārā "the eldest child of the Khilāfat" was kept at the Imperial Court, under the very eyes of his fond father who was unwilling to part company with him This excess of love was unfortunate in two ways it aroused the jealousy of the other princes and shut out Dārā from gaining first hand experience as a soldier and an administrator Undoubtedly, he was appointed

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1 Dārā was handed over, along with Aurangzīb to Jahāngīr in June, 1626 A D *Muntakhab ul Lubab* Vol I, p 377, *Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī* ('Aligarh, 1864) p 391 Beni Prasad's *Jahangir* p 391

2 Dārā Shikūh was escorted with Aurangzīb to Agra and received by the parents on the 1st Rajab 1037 A H (*Bādshāhnāma* Vol I, Part i, pp 177 178 *Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, Vol I, p 398)

3 We only learn that Mullā Mīrak Harawī was appointed as a tutor of Dārā (*Bādshāhnāma* Vol I, Part ii, p 344 *Sakīnat ul Awliyā*, p 47)

governor of the provinces of Allahabad[1] and the Panjāb,[2] but he was allowed to live at the capital and rule through his agents This rule by proxy could hardly make him experienced He also led the Kandhār campaign in 1053 A H [3] But, from the accounts of the campaign, it is apparent that it was not like an expedition led to a distant land or a march through difficult and perilous territory but rather the triumphant pageant of a victorious general The expedition was unsuccessful, so was the previous one led by Aurangzib But it cannot be denied that Dārā made certain tactical blunders and the over concern of his father for him hastened his recall, [4] the task being thus left unaccomplished

It will appear therefore that Dārā was more a man of the court than of the camp, but it cannot be denied, at the same time, that he possessed an extraordinary capacity for adaptability A prince who had passed his days in the luxuries of a most magnificent Mughal court, would have been expected to be utterly hopeless in the field of action, but we find that Dārā can compose himself, he can adjust himself to his environment and can face the frowns of fortune with a dignified countenance and a lofty resignation In the struggle for succession, which followed the illness of Shāhjahān in 1067 A H, Dārā displayed all his latent powers of organisation and generalship, but he was no match for the sun dried diplomat and general—Aurangzib The three brothers Shujā', Aurangzib and Murād were marching on Āgra with a well equipped and trained army and Dārā had to face them with all the resources at his disposal He sent his son Sulaimān Shikūh against Shujā', who was routed and turned back but, before Sulaimān could come to the rescue of his father, the latter had been defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzib and Murād, at Samūgarh (7th Ramadān, 1068 A H) The battle of Samūgarh sealed the fate of Dārā, who fled to Āgra thence to Lahore, Multān, Bhakkar, Gujarāt and Cutch He returned and fought with Aurangzib but only to be turned back after an ignominious defeat The flight of Dārā is a very painful episode of suffering, privation and misery His companions

[1] Allahabad and the forts of Rohtas and Janada was given to Dārā on the 1st Jamāda I 1055 A H (*Bādshāhnāma* Vol II p 424)

[2] *Bādshāhnāma* Vol II p 611

[3] *Ibid* Vol II, pp 291–308

[4] *Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, (Bib Ind) p 591

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

ا	ā	ض	ḍ
ث	th	ط	ṭ
چ	ch	ظ	ẓ
ح	ḥ	ع	ʿa, ʿi, ʿu
خ	kh	غ	gh
ذ	dh	ق	ḳ
ز	z	و	ū
ژ	zh	ء	ʾa, ʾi, ʾu
س , ش	s, sh	ی	ī y
ص	ṣ		

ERRATA

p 3, l 3	*For*	Kandhār	*read*	Kandahār
p 11, l 17	,,	*Shath*	,,	*Shaṭh*
p 11, l 34	,,	Rūzbahān	,,	Rūzbihān
p 12, l 4	,,	pp xxx–xxxiii	,,	pp 30–33
p 21, l 28	,,	See (	,,	(See
p 23, l 29	,,	Kandhār	,,	Kandahār
p 33, l 13	,,	page 5	,,	page (III 7) 83
p 39 l 35	,,	See p 6, n 1	,,	See p 8, n 1
p 40, l 36	,,	*Rasa*	,,	10 *Rasa*
p 47, l 16	,,	(*Āwz*) *ā*	,,	(*Āwāz*)
p 48, l 10	,,	*Dhamma*	,,	*Damma*
p 51, l 11	,,	*ruyat*	,,	*rūyat*
p 53, ll 20, 21		Ghaffari	,,	Ghifārī
p 55, l 14	,,	(Path) *ā*	,,	(Path)
p 60, l 35	,,	p 13	,,	p 49
p 97, l 10	,,	ادیّ راهٔ	,,	آدیّ آراهٔ
p 98, ll 16, 17	,,	عفّاری	,,	عفاری

INTRODUCTION

Dārā Shikūh, the author of the present work, was born at Ajmir, onday night the 29th Safar 1024 A H),[1] the city hallowed by the mory of the great mystic, Mu'inuddin Chishti, whose tomb there has, centuries past, been visited by the devoted followers of the Prophet ārā's father, Shāhjahān, had also frequented the tomb of the celebrated int and prayed earnestly for the birth of a son, for his two eldest ildren had been daughters [2] The prayer was accepted as it is said, d Dārā's birth was naturally hailed with the outburst of feelings of y by his devoted parents

The prince himself records the circumstances attending his birth, ile noticing the life of Mu'inuddin Chishti in his *Safinat ul Awliyā* [3]

" And this *fakīr* was born in the suburbs of Ajmir, by the (lake of) gar Tāl, on the last day of Safar, Monday midnight, 1024 A H As the house of my respected father three daughters had been born and ere were no male issues and (as) the age of His Majesty had reached enty four he, on account of the faith and devotion that he had for e Khwāja (i e Mu'inuddin Chishti) prayed, with thousand prosen tions and supplications, for the birth of a son And with His grace od, the Most High brought this meanest slave of his (i e Dārā Shikūh) to existence who hopes that He will grant him the grace of doing good id will bring to his host His goodwill and that of His friends *Āmin* h Lord of the world ' Thus, it is a happy coincidence that Dārā ho was born at the city of a great mystic and divine turned out to a devout Sūfi and a man of the Path ' throughout his life

Early Life

We know very little about Dārā's early life, for the Mughal his rians, who have primarily been the chroniclers of the political events curring in the State, give us very scanty information on the subject,

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma* (Bib Ind) Vol I, Part i, p 391 *Amal i Sālih* (Bib Ind) ol I, p 92

[2] Hūr Nisā Begam (b 8th Safar, 1022 A H , and d 4th Rabi' II, 1025 A H) id Jahān Ārā Begam (b 21st Safar 1023 A H and d Ramadān 1092 A H)

Nawal Kishūr Edition, p 94

prefer to approach the problem through translations such as the Persian translation of the Upanisads or through systematic treatises such as the one that forms the subject of the present volume The whole subject has been scarcely touched Speyer in his *De Indische Theosophie* has in one of his chapters dealt with the influence of Indian theosophy on the West and has shortly spoken about Kabir, the Sikhs Akbar and Ram Mohan Roy De Massignon has recently published and translated the conversations between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lal Das 'Abdul Wali has dealt with the relations between Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad (*Journal,* A S B , Vol XX) The most fundamental discussion however, hitherto of Indian influence on Muhammadan mysticism seems M Horten's *Indische Stromungen in der islamischen Mystik* (Heidelberg 1927 and 1928) The two parts of the work contain ample bibliographical references

Now Professor Mahfuz ul Haq comes, in the present publication, with a contribution of singular interest for this subject It is not that this "Mingling of the two Oceans" proves to be a book of deep insight or great spirituality On the contrary it seems poor in spirit and largely verbal But it gives us a starting point From this little book we can work backwards and forwards It is an apt focus for further research

Professor Haq, by his painstaking translation and by the fullness of his annotation has deserved well of his readers and has made easy the task of students in this particular field who may be neither Sanskritists nor Persianists Above all, by his careful and straightforward work he has taken away a false glamour with which the tragic death of its author had endowed the booklet as long as it remained sealed But in this connection a word of caution suggests itself We feel that the absence of the glow of true inspiration in the treatise is obvious But is this poverty of quality a true measure of Dārā's attitude and endowments ? From other data known concerning him it is legitimate to regard this question as one open to a certain measure of doubt Have we not rather to esteem the matter of fact substance and the terminological comparisons of the treatise not as the measure of his vision but as the measure of his prudence ? After all he was executed as a heretic Could he in his time and in his circumstances have said more than he did in this work without danger of dire consequences ? All these are matters of speculation, but of great human interest We shall only know for certain when his whole *œuvre* is made accessible to us, and we are grateful to Professor Haq for having made a beginning Dārā Shikūh, whether he was great of soul or only an aristocratic but small dabbler in great things, will remain a tragic figure in human history As the last continuator of a short line of activity begun by his great grandfather the great Akbar, he is also an historical figure in the development of Indian thought For all these and many other reasons we welcome the present work in which from beyond the gulf of death the voice of Hindu Muslim Unity has been given life again, insistent, sincere and tragic

CALCUTTA
15th May, 1929

JOHAN VAN MANEN

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IMPORTANT ERRATUM

All page numbers given in the margins on p 78 of the work (p 2 of Section III, Text) and on pp 117 128 of the work (pp 1 12 of Section IV, Variants) should be increased by 2, as by an oversight the page numbers of the title leaves of the two sections have not been taken into account Owners are advised to make the necessary corrections in their copies

FOREWORD

The 'science of religion' has in the last fifty years developed and progressed in many ways. We have the comparative, the historical, the sociological and the psychological methods. Of late a new school has arisen which is well exemplified by its forerunner James (*Varieties of religious Experience*), and latterly by Otto (*Das Heilige* and *Die Religionen*), a school which relegates history and philology to the background to concentrate in the first place on the religious experience itself. Pratt in his recent work *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* applies the principle in a practical way and rightly says: "To give the feeling of an alien religion it is necessary to do more than expound its concepts and describe its history. One must catch its emotional undertone, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbols, its cult, its art, and then seek to impart these things not merely by scientific exposition but in all sorts of indirect ways." *Non scholae sed vitae* is the motto of this school.

Nevertheless, history and philology will remain indispensable accessories. And also in the historical method there is development and subdivision. A group of phenomena of great interest and importance but scarcely as yet touched upon is the one furnished by what may be called the symbiotics of religion. In Europe, the confluence of paganism and Christianity has submerged all paganism without destroying it. In Java, the confluence of Indonesian animism, Hinduism and Islam has produced a doctrinal, terminological and sentimental complex which is difficult to analyse and is an example of permeation without suppression. In China, Confucianism and Buddhism have remained unmixed side by side, whilst Buddhism has intimately influenced Taoism, chiefly in the popular strata. In India, likewise Hinduism and Islam have remained oil and water, though a subtle influence has perhaps been exercised upon later Islamic mysticism and magic by the surrounding Hindu atmosphere. On the contrary the purely artificial individual endeavours of an Akbar and a Dārā Shikūh to introduce Hindu thought and speculation into Persian literature have remained almost completely isolated and sterile. A little literary theological island has been created which has remained uninhabited and from which no travellers have undertaken further voyages into the world of Islām. The rich and fertile results of the introduction of Greek thought into the Arabic and the mediaeval western world is in this instance counterbalanced by an entire lack of consequences, and the effort was still born. Nevertheless syncretistic and henistic tendencies are always interesting and deserve attention. The sharply defined and definitely circumscribed literary activity of the few notable Muhammadans who have sought to transplant Indian thought into the Islamic world is of such a nature and moreover connected with incidents of human and dramatic value.

It is difficult to decide where to begin in this study: with the artificial endeavours of rulers like Akbar or Dārā Shikūh or with those of humbler mystics without autocratic influence. One might either

MAJMA'-UL-BAHRAIN

OR

THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS

BY

PRINCE MUHAMMAD DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

WITH

ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND VARIANTS

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